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Doctor of Philosophy by the University of Dacca.*

BAHMAN SHĀH

The Founder of the Bahmani Kingdom

74093

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To
My Wife
Mihr Banu



PREFACE

Bahman Shāh is an historical figure rendered romantic by Firishtah and some other historians. The first scientific account of Bahman's reign is given by Sir Wolseley Haig in the *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, in five pages, for in a work of that nature more space could not be allotted to a ruler like Bahman Shāh. Professor Shērwanī's account in his book, the *Bahmanīs of the Deccan*, is also brief. The *Futūḥu's-Salāṭīn* of 'Iṣāmī gives a detailed account of the revolt by the royal officers in the Deccan and also the reign of Bahman Shāh up to the 6th of Rabī'u 'l-Awwal, 751 A. H. But the author has failed to give details about Ḥasan's early life. The *Burhān-i-Ma'āthir* which gives a fairly correct account of his rise to power and his subsequent biography has not given details of his early life. Firishtah has clothed the early biography of Bahman Shāh in a derogatory and false myth.

The various theories about the origin and early history of "Ḥasan Gangū", as he is commonly known, and the slenderness of the material available for a study of the history of that ruler were the main attractions which made me select his biography for my study.

This is the first elaborate attempt to record in one systematic thesis all the data available concerning an historical figure whose origin and early history have been topics of controversy among scholars for centuries. I hope I have presented in a readable form most of the available details and thrown light on some dark corners.

I have made it clear by quoting the evidence of a contemporary writer, several later authors, and by transcribing some of the coins as well as by reproducing a contemporary inscription in the Sulṭān's own capital that he was called Bahman Shāh and that he claimed descent from Bahman, son

of Isfandiyār (Ardashīr Darāzdest). The inscription, contemporary to Ḥasan, although already noticed by others, has been reproduced and published in this work for the first time.

Besides, I have added one more interpretation to several on record concerning the term Gangawī by relating it to Gangī, a dependency of Miraj, where Ḥasan and his mother are reported to have lived during the early life of the former. Possibly I have succeeded in revealing the motive (religious as well as secular) which made Firishtah defame Bahman Shāh by ascribing a low beginning to the Sulṭan and calling him a humble former servant of a Hindu priest.

Further, a coin of Bahman Shāh dated 760 A. H. is available. Depending on Firishtah's erroneous statement (which does not tally with the date of accession and the total period of the reign given by the same author) that Ḥasan died in Rabi'ū 'l-Awwal A. H. 759 (instead of 760), Sir Wolseley Haig has considered that the coin "is perhaps posthumous, although no coin of Muḥammad I of an earlier date than 760 A.H. has been discovered." By correcting the date as 1st Rabi'ū 'l-Awwal, 760 A. H. with the help of a bit of evidence furnished by the *Tadhkiratu'l-Mulūk*, I have been able to establish that the coin was issued during the reign of Ḥasan and that he died in 760 A.H. Later, I discovered that my finding is corroborated by the *Zafnu'l-Wāliḥ*.

I am deeply indebted to several veterans in the field, but for whose guidance and generous loaning of books and journals, I would not have known the existence of certain local inscriptions and literary works in the local languages and to all those scholars who have studied the subject and whose works I have utilised and acknowledged.

Ministry of education
 together with
 free from
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CONTENTS

	Page
Preface	vii
Contents	ix
List of Plates	xiii
Map	xv

CHAPTER I.

The Birth of the Bahmanī Kingdom.

South India in 1325—The revolt of Gurshāsp—The change of Capital—Jalālu'd-Dīn rebels at Madura—Nuṣrat Khān at Bīdar—'Alī Shāh at Gulbargah—Qutluḡ Khān recalled from the Deccan.

'Azīz Khammār made governor of Mālwah and Gujarāt. His cruelty towards the Amīrān-i-Ṣadah—They revolt—'Azīz killed—Muḥammad Tughluq puts down the revolt. The Amīrs of the Deccan revolt and occupy Dawlatābād—Ismā'īl made the ruler—Muḥammad defeats the rebels, lays siege to Dawlatābād and sends Sartīz to pursue the fleeing rebels.

Hasan (Ẓafar Khān) at Miraj—Nūru'd-Dīn commits suicide—Sartīz at Gulbargah—Hasan collects a large force and marches towards Dawlatābād—Sartīz gives chase—Battle near Bīr—Sartīz defeated and killed—Hasan relieves Dawlatābād and gets elected Sulṭān by the rebels. (pp. 1—19).

CHAPTER II.

Hasan's Career Before He Became the Sultan of the Deccan.

The genealogy quoted by Firishtah—The one given in the Burhān—Sister's son of the 'Alā'ī general, Ẓafar Khān—Was he a brother of 'Alī Shāh? Ghūr his native place (?)—'Abdul Jabbar's evidence not reliable—Early life at Gangī—The cobra fiction—Treasure tales—Prophecy stories—Enrolment as Amīr Ṣadah—Fought against Gurshāsp.

'Alī Shāh and his brothers perish—Hasan was the Warden of the Marches when the Centurians revolted—They had occupied Dawlatābād and were besieging Gulbargah when Hasan joined their ranks—Hasan beats back a sally of the

besieged—The rebels at Gulbargah summoned to Dawlatābād—Ḥasan responds. (pp. 20-38).

CHAPTER III.

Was Ḥasan called Bahmani ?

Firishtah's account that Ḥasan served under a Brahman is not corroborated. Firishtah gives two reports which say that he claimed descent from Bahman son of Isfandiyār. He is at pains to explain away earlier accounts—Tries to discredit Bahman Shāh. Possible sectarian cum political motive—The word, Bahman, cannot mean a Brahman—Ḥasan is called Bahman by a contemporary and several later writers—A contemporary inscription and the coins of Ḥasan call him Bahman Shāh—Reasons for disbelieving Firishtah—Dr. Qānūngō's contention examined. (pp. 39-54).

CHAPTER IV.

The Epithet, Gangūī.

Different interpretations of the term, Gangūī, by 'Abdu'l-Walī, Shērwanī, Qānūngō, and Firishtah. The data furnished by the Tadbkiratu'l-Mulūk corroborated by a few other pieces of evidence. The word is Gangawī, a noun of relation formed from Gangī, where Ḥasan's family lived until he settled down at Gulbargah. (pp. 55-67).

CHAPTER V.

Consolidation.

The boundary of the kingdom which Bahman Shāh got from Nāṣiru'd-Dīn—Bahman bestows titles, offices and iqtā's on his nobles—Bahman Shāh gives natural frontiers to his kingdom—Ismā'il entertains disloyalty and is eliminated—Gulbargah conquered—Revolt and subjugation of Muḥammad bin 'Ālim—Khepras and Nārāyan subdued—Ḥasan invades Kahāri Pattan—Ballāla IV flees from there—Qīr Khān and Kālay Muḥammad revolt—The revolt is put down.

Sultān Muḥammad engaged in fighting Taghī—Assembles an enormous host to invade the Deccan—Taghī eludes the Sultān—Muḥammad invades Sind, falls ill and dies.

Bahman celebrates the marriage of his son Muḥammad—
Makes Gulbargah his capital—Celebration prolonged up to
June, 1352. (pp. 69-93).

CHAPTER VI.

South India at the Time of Bahman's Accession.

Baglāna under Mānsingh Baharjī (Māndēv) Gujarāt and
Khāndesh held by Muḥammad bin Tughluq's commanders—
Telingāna ruled by Kāpaya Nāyaka who had helped Ḥasan
with soldiers—The Saḷṭanat of Madura under Nāṣitu'd-Dīn
Maḥmūd Ghāzi-i-Dāmghān—the Sambuvarāyas—The Hoysāla
kingdom—Ballāla IV met with at Kahāripattṇ—Vijayanagar—
Harihara I—Onore or Honnavara (Hinawar) under Shaykh
Jamālu'd-Dīn. (pp. 94-104).

CHAPTER VII.

Bahman's Conquests.

Boundary of Bahman's kingdom after consolidation—
Bahman's five expeditions between 1352 and 1399.—First
expedition to the north-west of his kingdom—Second expe-
dition into Konkan—Third into Telingāna—Duration of
the Telingāna campaign and the farthest point reached by
Bahman—Fourth expedition against the rājās of the northern
Carnatic. Extravagant dreams of Bahman Shāh—The last
military undertaking was the invasion of Gujarāt. Bahman
fell ill and returned. (pp. 105-117).

CHAPTER VIII.

Bahman's Death and Character.

i. Death.

Bahman fell ill while in Gujarāt—Bahman lost hope of
recovery—Freed prisoners and gave away most of the cash
acquired—Advice to children to remain united—Date of
Bahman's death, 31st January 1359 A.D. (1st Rabi'u'l-Awwal,
760 A. H.)—His mausoleum at Gulbargah.

ii. Character

Good personality—Brave soldier and leader of men—
Love of wild game—An ardent sportsman with most of the
sportsmanlike qualities and team spirit—Caution, modesty

and politeness—Held fast to social virtues (*mirruvat*) and spread out the hand of liberality and generosity towards friends and foes—Elimination of Ismā'il Mukh—Bahman's justification for revolt against Sultān Muḥammnd bin Tughluq—A duteous and respectful son, a devoted husband and loving father—Tolerant towards Hindus—Sparing in punishment—Desisted from excesses—Strove to heal wounds—Belief in dreams—Superstitious—Generally loved and willingly obeyed—A good ruler. (pp. 118-133)

CHAPTER IX.

The Government under Bahman Shah.

The first Muslim kingdom in the Deccan—Bahman, who was a rebel, gets from the 'Abbāsīd Caliph *de jure* sovereignty.

The Royol Household—The Wakīl-i-Dar—The Bārbak The Hājib—The Guards—The Sarpardahdār—The Qūrbak—The Shahnah-i-Bārgāh—The Akhur Bak—The Shahnah-i-Pīl—Shahnah-i-Khwān—The Sarābdār—The Kharīṭahdār—The Sardawātdār.

The Central departments—Finance, Military and Judicial cum Religious. The Finance Department—The Wakīl—The Khāzin—The Dabīr. The Military Department—The Amīru'l Umarā'—The Zahīru'l-Juyūsh—The 'Arid-i-Jaysh—The Sahmu'l-Hasham—The Judicial Department—The Şadru's-Şudūr—The Qāḍiu'l-Qudāt—The Qāḍiu'l-'Askar—

The Provinces—The Iqtā's—The Şadī—Revenue—Justice—The nature of Bahmn's Government. (pp. 135-152)

Appendix A	Details of Coins Reproduced ...	153
Appendix B	Amīr Şadah ...	155
Appendix C	Mukh and Yal ...	156
Appendix D	Certain Place-names ...	157
Appendix E	Manuscripts Consulted ...	160
Appendix F	Original Soutees ...	162
Appendix G	Works Consulted ...	174
Index	181

LIST OF PLATES.

- I. Coin of Nāṣiru 'd-Dīn Ismā'il Mukh.
- II. Inscription dated 754 A.H. mounted on the Mosque of Gulbargah.
- III. Coins of Bahman Shāh.
- IV. Coins of Muḥammad Shāh, son of Bahman Shāh.
(between pp. 48 and 49)

MAP.

Showing

- I. Bahman's Kingdom at his Accession,
- II. Bahman's Kingdom at Muhammad Tughluq's Death, in 1351 A. D., and
- III. Bahman's Kingdom at His Death.
(Opposite p. 96)



CHAPTER I

THE BIRTH OF THE BAHMANĪ KINGDOM

At the accession of Muḥammad bin Tughluq, a large portion of the Deccan recognised the suzerainty of the Sulṭān of Dihlī. Mahārāshtra and Telingāna were under the effective control of the Imperial Government. Sulṭān Muḥammad established a viceroyalty at Madura (Ma'bar) to consolidate his recent conquests and those of his predecessors in the far south. Yet all the kingdoms in the southern peninsula did not come under the Sulṭān's supremacy. Kandhyāna, Kampili and Dwārasamudra remained outside the Empire when Muḥammad ascended the throne. They "displayed a tendency to create trouble and subvert the authority of the Sulṭān. The reduction of these states was essential for securing the stability of the Empire; and Sulṭān Muḥammad lacked neither ability nor resources to embark on the enterprise".¹

Early in the reign of Muḥammad, his cousin,² Bahā'u'd-Dīn Gurshāsp, who held the jāgīr of Sagar near Shorāpūr and enjoyed great influence among the Muslim officials of the Deccan, revolted against the Sulṭān and the whole country was soon aflame. The rebels advanced towards Devagiri; but they were met and defeated by Khwājah Jahān, the minister, and Mujīru 'd-Dīn Abū Rajā'. Gurshāsp fled to Sagar and from there to the raja of Kampili, who gave him shelter.

The raja of Kampili sent Gurshāsp to Vīra Ballāla III before the fall of Kampili, and Vīra Ballāla surrendered him to the Sulṭān to save his own skin. The conquest of Kampili by

1. Venkatramanayya: *The Early Muslim Expansion in South India*, p. 128.

2. *Pir-i-'amm* (uncle's son) Firishṭah, p. 135: *Ibn 'ammah* (paternal aunt's son) Futūḥu 's-Salāṭīn, p. 424 (Madras). According to Ibn Baṭṭūṭah, Gurshāsp was the sister's son of Sulṭān Ghiyāthu 'd-Dīn: Elliot & Dowson, III, p. 614: *Travels*, Vol. III, p. 318. Since two contemporary writers agree that he was the aunt's son of Muḥammad, Firishṭah's version should be ignored.

the Sultān put an end to the independence of that kingdom for the time being, but Ballāla was wise enough to recognise the suzerainty of Muḥammad and avoid trouble to himself and his people.

Nāga Nāyak,¹ the ruler of Kandhyāna, who defied the Sultān for a time, was besieged in his stronghold near Poona and forced to surrender. In 1323 Muḥammad conquered Madura for his father and laid the foundation of the Muslim rule in Ma'bar. Later, as the Sultān of Dihlī, he appointed Jalālu 'd-Dīn Aḥsan² to be the Governor of the province.

Sultān Muḥammad bin Tughluq was now at the zenith of his power. The empire of Dihlī extended from Cutch to the Bay of Bengal and from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin.

In the year 1326 Muḥammad Tughluq ordered the change of capital from Dihlī to Devagiri which he considered a more central place from which he could rule his vast empire with greater efficiency. The change of the seat of Government to a city, which was populated mainly by hostile Hindu inhabitants involved great risks. Hence he also ordered the transfer of the whole body of the inhabitants of Dihlī to the new capital. The order was later carried out so strictly that it entailed great hardship and misery upon the people.

The Sultān came to Devagiri in 727 A. H. He remained there for two years.³ Hence he must have left the Deccan in the year 729 A. H. (1328-29 A.D.) for Multān where Kishlū Khān was in rebellion. The rebellion was put down about the year 1334 A. D.⁴

In the year 1333 A.D. Jalālu 'd-Dīn of Ma'bat declared his independence, and on January 5, 1335 Muḥammad left for

1. Firishṭah, (Lucknow, 1323 A. H.), p. 132.

2. Baranī, (Bib. Ind.), p. 480.

3. Nuniz (Translated in *A Forgotten Empire* by Sewell), p. 296.

4. When Ibn Baṭṭūṭah passed through Sind, he saw the head of Kishlū Khān exhibited in Multān. *Travels*, Vol. III, p. 323-324.

Southern India to subdue the province in revolt. While he was in the Deccan (Warangal), a pestilence broke out in his camp, and himself being subjected to an attack, he returned to Dihlī never to regain Ma'bar.

We have already noticed that the Sulṭān left the Deccan to put down the revolt of Kisblū Khān. When he was engaged in putting down the revolt in Multān and in quelling the subsequent rising of Sāhū Afghān in the same region, "a revolt broke out (in the middle of the thirties) among the Hindus of Warangal. Kāpaya Nāyaka¹, having gathered strength in that country, Malik Makhbūl, the Nāib Vizier, fled to Delhi. The Hindus took possession of Warangal which was thus entirely lost. At the same time one of the relations of Kāpaya Nāyaka, whom the Sultan had sent to Kambala, apostatized from Islam and raised a revolt. The land of Kambala also was thus lost and fell into the hands of the Hindus, Deogīr and Gujarat alone remained secure".²

Soon after, Nuṣrat Khān, the Governor of Bīdar, who had promised to remit to the Central treasury a sum of ten million³ tankahs, found out that he could not remit even one-fourth of that amount. Fearing punishment and taking advantage of the Sulṭān's difficulties, he revolted; but the rebellion was soon put down by Qutlugh Khān, Governor of Dawlatābād.

The account of Ibn Baṭṭūṭah is different from that of Firishtah. According to the former, Nuṣrat Khān, the Turk, (Tāju 'l-Mulk), was one of the old courtiers of Sulṭān Muḥammad. On hearing the rumour that the Sulṭān was dead (when he was attacked by the pestilence), Nuṣrat Khān mourned him for some days and then started receiving homage from people at his capital, Badarkot. Qutlugh who

1. The name is differently spelt in different works. For details see Chapter VI.

2. Baranī (Elliot & Dowson), III, p. 245 : Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 138.

3. Firishtah, Vol. I, page 158.

was sent against him offered pardon to the rebel and sent him to Dihlī.¹

In the year 1339-40 there was another rebellion in the Deccan. 'Alī Shāh, an officer under Qutluḡ Khān, was sent to collect and escort to Dawlatābād the revenue due from the province of Gulbargah. According to Firishtah, 'Alī Shāh found that province defenceless and seized it after killing its Governor (Dābiṭ).² 'Iṣāmī gives a different account. He writes that the ruler of Gulbargah was a Hindu by name Bhīran³ who treated 'Alī Shāh and his brothers, who were Zafar Khānīs, with disrespect. Hence they killed him and seized his province.⁴ Having made himself the master of Gulbargah, 'Alī Shāh raised an army spending from the treasury at his disposal, marched to Bīdar, slew the acting Governor and occupied the town.⁵

When Sultān Muḥammad Tughluḡ came to know about 'Alī Shāh's revolt, he sent reinforcements to Qutluḡ Khān from Mālwah and directed him to proceed against the rebel. 'Alī Shāh, who took shelter in the strong fortress of Bīdar, came out after procuring a promise from Qutluḡ Khān that his life would be spared. The rebel was sent to Dihlī along with his brothers. The Sultān spared their lives and deported them to Ghaznah. Soon thereafter "two brothers" returned without the permission of Sultān Muḥammad Tughluḡ and were "punished".⁶

In 1344 the Sultān was again in a position to pay some attention to the south. Revenue collections in the Deccan had fallen to a very low level. The courtiers attributed it to sloth and speculation on the part of the officials appointed by

1. Ibn Baṭṭūṭah, Vol. III, pp. 340-41.

2. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 138.

3. Baranī calls him Bhairan (Bhīran). Elliot & Dowson, III, p. 248.

4. Fuṣūḡu 's-Salāṭīn (Madras University Edn.), pp. 485 seqq.

5. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 139.

6. Put to death ; Baranī, page 489.

Qutlugh Khān. "On December 8, 1344, the poet Badr-i-Chāch was sent from Delhi to recall Qutlugh Khān from Dawlatābād, and his brother, Maulāna Niẓāmud-Dīn, a simple man devoid of administrative experience, was sent from Broach to succeed him, but with restricted powers".¹

Qutlugh Khān was a brave soldier and a good administrator.² He loved the people under his charge and treating them well, was able to keep the country prosperous, contented and in peace.³ The removal of this popular Governor caused great discontent among the people and the officials.

The Sulṭān, who was growing more and more harsh, was bent on collecting the last *cawī* due to the State. Therefore he appointed as Governor of Mālwah and Gujarāt a notorious extortionist by name 'Azīz Khammār, who had won an evil reputation as revenue collector of Amroha.

Somehow, the Sulṭān was displeased with the Centurions⁴ of Gujarāt and Devagīr.⁵ "At the time of sending him ('Azīz) off, the Sulṭān gave certain directions to him. Among those he said, 'I hear that every disturbance, which occurs in any province, is caused by its Amīr Ṣadaḥs, who support all the turbulent people ; and in this way, become the source of all insurrections. If you find any of them evil disposed, and to be inclined to create disturbances, you should at once have them executed".⁶ There were instances

1. Cambridge History of India, III, p. 165 : Baranī, p. 501.

2. Burhān-i-Ma'āthir (Dihli, 1936), p. 13.

3. Ibid.

4. Sir W. Haig translates the term as centurions. Bayley thinks that it refers to "free-lancers". See Bayley : Gujarat, p. 43. (foot-note).

According to Dr. Mahdi Husain, "The ṣadi was the lowest administrative unit". Its supreme officer was called the amīr-i-ṣadaḥ. *The Rise and Fall of Muḥammad bin Tughluq*, p. 225.

5. Baranī, p. 504. For a discussion of the term, amīr ṣadaḥ, see Appendix B.

6. Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī (Translation), p. 231 - Also see Firishtah, Vol., I, p. 140.

in which some of the Centurions were disloyal; but to condemn a certain rank or category as a whole was not a sound policy.

Soon after taking charge, 'Azīz caused eighty-nine¹ Centurions to be put to death before his official residence "without proper enquiry and deliberation".² The Sultān approved of this cruel act and sent 'Azīz a robe of honour (*khil'at*) and a *farmān* praising his services to the State. This barbarous act by the Governor and its approval³ by the Sultān excited horror among the Centurions of Gujarāt and the Deccan.⁴

The Centurions of Dābhoi and Baroda were the first to take up the challenge. Muqbil, the Governor of Gujarāt, was taking the annual remittance of the revenue from his province to Dihlī⁵, and merchants with large quantities of merchandise also left for the capital under the protection of the escort which was accompanying the treasure. Taking advantage of this, the Centurions fell upon the caravan and looted its wealth.⁶ "Malik Muqbil lost every thing and went alone to Nahrwāla".⁷

When the news of the rebellion reached Sultān Muḥammad Tughluq, he appointed a council of regency consisting of Malik Fīrūz, Khān Jahān, and Malik Kabīr⁸, and leaving Dihlī in 741 A.H., reached Sultānpūr. There he received the report from 'Azīz Khammār that he was proceeding against the rebels. The Sultān knew that 'Azīz was not a warrior and expressed the fear that he might get killed.⁹

1. Baranī, pp. 503-04: The *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī* says eighty and odd. (Translation), Vol. I, p. 231.

2. *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī* (Translation), Vol. I, p. 231.

3. Ibid.

4. Baranī, p. 504.

5. *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī* (Translation), Vol. I, p. 232.

6. Baranī, p. 507.

7. *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī* (Translation), Vol. I, p. 232.

8. *Firishtah*, Vol. I, p. 141.

9. Ibid.

Before the Sulṭān could send a reply, news reached him that 'Azīz Khammār had marched against the rebels and had been defeated and slain. "In oppressing the poor, in plundering the rich, in torturing and slaying the helpless 'Azīz had few equals";¹ but like most oppressors and bullies he was not a good fighter. Niẓāmu 'd-Dīn Bakhshī writes (and Firīshṭah corroborates him²) that "when 'Azīz Khammār came in front of the insurgents, he lost all power over his limbs and fell off from his horse."³ The rebels captured him and "put him to death in the worst possible manner".⁴

On learning about the defeat and death of 'Azīz Khammār, the Sulṭān marched towards Gujarāt and sent his generals against the Centurions. The rebels were defeated in two engagements, one near Dēvī and the other on the bank of the Narbada.⁵ Many of them were killed and their wives and children taken captives. Some who survived the two battles fled to Māndēv, the ruler of Baglāna, seeking his protection. Māndēv, afraid of the Sulṭān, put them into the prison after despoiling them. Thus the rebellion of the Centurions was suppressed in Gujarāt. Many of the rebels were put to the sword. Some of them, eluding capture, fled with their families to the Deccan.⁶

The Sulṭān sent Malik 'Alī Sarjāmahdār⁷ and Malik Aḥmad, son of Lāchīn⁸, to Dawlatābād with orders to Moulana Niẓāmu 'd-Dīn ('Ālimu 'l-Mulk), brother of Qutlugh Khān, to send with the two Maliks all the known Centurions

1. Cambridge History of India, Vol. III, p. 167.

2. Firīshṭah, Vol. I, p. 141.

3. Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī (Translation), Vol. I, p. 233.

4. Firīshṭah, Vol. I, p. 141.

5. Ibid.

6. Baranī, p. 521.

7. Firīshṭah, Vol. I, p. 141.

8. Ibid; The Futūḥu 's-Salāṭīn gives the name as Aḥmad son of Lāchīn, 'Iṣāmī, p. 516, couplet 2 and p. 517 last but one line.

of the Deccan to him under an escort of 1,500 horse. Accordingly, Nizāmu 'd-Dīn summoned the Centurions of Rāichūr, Mudgal, Gulbargah, Bijāpūr, Ganjūti, Rāibāgh, Kulhār, Hukayrī, Berār and Rāigiri and other places to Dawlatābād. But, having heard of the senseless animosity of the Sultān against their particular cadre, the officers delayed in responding to the invitation. Hence the Moulāna sent Malik 'Alī and Malik Aḥmad, son of Lāchīn, with 1,500 horse to collect them. After much effort they succeeded in gathering some of the Centurions like Naṣīru 'd-Dīn Taghalchī, Qizilbāsh Ḥājib, Ḥusāmu 'd-Dīn, Ismā'il Mukh, Ḥasan Gangawī¹ and Nūru 'd-Dīn at Gulbargah and conducted them to Dawlatābād from whence the Governor sent them to the Sultān.

When the party arrived at the pass of Mānikdūn between the towns of Kaj and Dūn,² the rebels, preferring the chances of a revolt to the certainty of death at the hands of Muḥammad, slew Malik Aḥmad ibn Lāchīn, looted the treasure which he was carrying, and returning to Dawlatābād, laid siege to the city. Soon, winning over the garrison to their side, they entered the fort and killed several officers including the son of Ruknu 'd-Dīn Thanāsari. 'Ālimu 'l-Mulk, for whom the rebels had some regard and consideration, was spared and sent away.³ They divided between themselves a part of the great treasure which had accumulated at Dawlatābād due to the insecurity prevailing on the roads to Dihlī. Just then the remaining Centurions of Gujarāt who were hiding in the nooks and corners of the province⁴ and those who were imprisoned at Baglāna⁵ came and joined their comrades at Dawlatābād. The rebel Centurions raised one

1. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 142, first line.

2. Ibid, line 2. Firishtah calls the place Mānikganj in Vol. I, p. 275, first line. Please see Appendix D.

3. The Burhān, p. 13.

4. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 142.

5. Cambridge History of India, Vol III, p. 168.

of their number, Ismā'il Mukh,¹ brother of Gul² (Mal)³ Afghān, a wise and polite man, to the throne of the Deccan under the title of Nāṣiru 'd-Dīn.⁴

Ibn Baṭṭūṭah gives a different version of the revolt at Dawlatābād. He relates that Muḥammad bin Tughluq tried a treacherous stratagem to entrap the Afghāns. He sent the winter *khil'ats* (robes of honour) to be distributed among the military chiefs, as usual, and instructed Niẓāmu 'd-Dīn to arrest all the Afghāu chiefs when they came to receive the robes. One of the bearers of the robes betrayed the treacherous intentions of the monarch to the Afghāns. Forewarned of the danger, the Afghān chiefs came to receive the robes, and when Moulāna Niẓāmu 'd-Dīn got down from his horse, they rushed towards him and captured him. They killed a large number of Niẓāmu 'd-Dīn's soldiers, entered the town, took possession of the treasures and elected one of them, Nāṣiru 'd-Dīn, son of Malik Mall, to be their ruler.⁵

When Muḥammad Tughluq heard that the rebels had captured Dawlatābād, he led his forces against them in person. Nāṣiru 'd-Dīn, who could assemble an army, about 40,000⁶ strong, consisting of Afghāns, Turks, Indians and slaves—all

1. Baranī (p. 514), Firishtah (Vol. I, p. 142). Bakshī Niẓāmu 'd-Dīn in certain passages calls him Mukh and in certain other passages calls him Faṭḥ, Translation, Vol. III, p. 8. See Appendix C.

2. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 142. See Appendix C.

3. The Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī (Translation), Vol. I, p. 235: Ibn Baṭṭūṭah says that Nāṣiru 'd-Dīn was the son of Malik Mall. Vol. III, p. 365, first line.

4. Firishtah gives the title as Nāṣiru 'd-Dīn (Vol. I, p. 142, line 9) and also gives a couplet to substantiate his version, but he does not quote his authority. 'Iṣmī, the contemporary author, gives the name as Nāṣiru 'd-Dīn (p. 521, lines 12) and so does the author of the Burhān (p. 13, line 20). In some other places even Firishtah calls Ismā'il Mukh Nāṣiru 'd-Dīn (For instance see page 276, lines 1, 2, 11, 17, 25 and 28). The coin of Nāṣiru 'd-Dīn reproduced by me must be convincing proof on this point.

5. Ibn Baṭṭūṭah, Vol. III, pp. 365-366.

6. Ibid. Vol. III, p. 368, line 7.

of whom had taken a vow not to flee¹--decided to give battle to the Sulṭān in the open field. In the engagement which ensued the centre of the imperial army was commanded by Malik Tātār and Malik Nawrūz and the left by Malik Maqbūl. Sulṭān Muḥammad himself took a position slightly behind the right wing and retained the supreme command in his own hands. On the side of the rebels the centre was commanded by Nāṣiru 'd-Dīn's son, Khidr Khān, aided by Tātār Khān, Khān-i-Jahān Nūru 'd-Dīn, Khātām Khān and Iskandar Khān as well as Bahā'u 'd-Dīn and Naṣīru 'd-Dīn Taghalchī. Qadr Khān and Mubārak Khān, who were leading the forces from Gujarāt, were placed on the right wing along with Shamsu 'd-Dīn, son of Pīghū. Zafar Khān commanded the left supported by Ḥusāmu 'd-Dīn and Šafdar Khān. Nāṣīru 'd-Dīn, with one thousand veterans, took a position slightly behind the centre.

The armies, thus arranged, faced each other for a few days when the commanders of Nāṣīru 'd-Dīn, fearing some sudden attack by the enemy, sought the permission of their ruler to attack the foe and start the battle. On his giving the consent, the rebels commenced the attack. 'Iṣmī, who gives the above details,² says that his patron, Zafar Khān, routed the wing that was facing him and even succeeded in reaching the centre. But, as the other wings did not fare well, he had to retreat and join the main army.³ According to Firishtab, both the right and the left wing of Sulṭān Muḥammad had been routed and the rebels had reached the centre of the royal army⁴ when all the three commanders of Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughluq—Malik Nawrūz, Malik Tātār and Malik Maqbūl—made a simultaneous attack on the centre of the rebels and pressed it hard. Nāṣīru 'd-Dīn rushed reinforcement to aid his centre. A very hot combat ensued. Naṣīru

1. Ibn Baṭṭūṭah, Vol. III, p. 368, line 8.

2. 'Iṣmī, pp. 531-32.

3. Ibid, p. 533.

4. Firishtab, Vol. I, p. 142, lines 10-11.

'd-Dīn Taghalchī was unborsed, but one of his soldiers got down from his animal, and offering it to his commander, was trampled under the hoofs of the contending cavalry.¹ The odds were against the rebels; yet they were fighting ferociously, displaying great valour and skill, when the commander of their vanguard was struck down, and the four thousand horsemen under his command gave way.² The fate of the battle was still hanging in the balance, when night intervened,³ and the parties disengaged themselves, each side not knowing what had happened to the other.⁴ A large number of the rebels had been killed, many had been taken prisoners and a good many of them had escaped. When Sulṭān Nāṣiru 'd-Dīn found that his army had been considerably reduced, he held a council and decided that he should withdraw himself within the fort of Dawlatābād with enough soldiers to defend it; that the other Centurions should escape to their respective jāgīrs to look after and guard them. Accordingly, Nāṣiru 'd-Dīn retired with his army into the strong fort of Dhārāgarh (the fort at the top of the hill within the city) which had been well provided with grain and other necessities⁵ and which Muḥammad himself had made impregnable.

From 'Iṣāmī's account we find that many of the leading rebels retired with Ismā'īl Mukh and remained shut up inside the castle — Khidr Khān, Khān Jahān, Tātār Khān, Qadr Khān, Mubārak Khān, Ṣafdar Khān, his son Muhrdār, Bahā'u 'd-Dīn, the Hājib-i-Khāṣṣ Nāṣiru 'd-Dīn Taghalchī and the son of Kajak.⁶

On the defeat of the rebel army and the withdrawal of Nāṣiru 'd-Dīn and his companions into the fort, Muḥammad

1. 'Iṣāmī, pp. 523-34.

2. Firishtrah, Vol I, p. 142, line 11.

The report that Nūru 'd-Dīn was killed in this engagement appears to be wrong. See *infra* p. 14.

3. *Ibid*, line 12.

4. *Ibid*.

5. *Ibid*, p. 143.

6. *Ibid*, p. 540, lines 10-14.

bin Tughluq despatched Amīr Nawrūz Gurgīn to Dillī with a letter containing the news of the victory to be read from the pulpit of the chief mosque of the capital and ordering that the triumph should be celebrated by playing the bands.¹

Muḥammad had been besieging the fort of Dawlatābād for three months² and was exerting himself in constructing *sūbās*, planting *manjanīqs* and making holes in the fort³ so vigorously that the besieged garrison was beginning to feel the great rigours of the siege and grow anxious about the result thereof when he received news of another serious rebellion in Gujarāt under Malik Ṭaghī. The rebel, a cobbler by birth, had been a slave of Ṣafdaru 'l-Mulk who, in his turn, had been in servitude under Aḥmad Ayāz (Khwājah Jahān).⁴ In spite of his humble antecedents, Malik Ṭaghī was a man of ability and energy. He joined hands with the Centurions of Gujarāt and some of the Hindu chieftains of the hilly country on the east of the province, attacked Naharwālah⁵ (Pātan) where he captured and imprisoned the Governor, Shaykh Mu'izzu 'd-Dīn and some of his officers, and put to death the Deputy Governor, Malik Muẓaffar.⁶ From Naharwālah he marched to Kambāyat (Cambay) and, after plundering that town⁷, ventured further southward, and laid siege to Broach,⁸ which had been until recently the Sulṭān's headquarters. On hearing that Broach was being besieged, and knowing, as he did, the vigour and ability of the rebel, Moḥammad decided that his presence was more urgently required in Gujarāt than in the Deccan. Leaving Khudāwandzādah Qiwāmu 'd-Dīn, Malik

1. Firishtah, Vol. 1, p. 142.

2. The outer fort was known as that of Dawlatābād and the fort at the top of the hill as that of Dhārāgarh. Firishtah, p. 140.

3. Firishtah, p. 142.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid.

6. Ibid.

7. Ibid.

8. Ibid.

Jawhar and Shaykh Burhānu 'd-Dīn Bilāramī and Zahiru 'l-Juyūsh¹ and also a considerable force to carry on the siege of Dawlatābād, the Sulṭān left for Gujarāt in great haste carrying with him the prisoners² he had recently taken in the battle.

At the time of his departure Muḥammad ordered 'Imādu 'l-Mulk Sartīz Suiṭānī³ to march with a body of other officers and soldiers to Gulbargah (according to the Burhān-i-Ma'āthir in pursuit of Ḥasan).⁴ hunt up all the fugitives and subdue the country. This officer who was one of the counsellors of the Sulṭān, had been the Governor of Ellichpūr in Berār, and being unable to withstand the Centurions of that area, had escaped to Sulṭānpūr⁵ (Warangal).

Fleeing from the battle-field, Zafar Khān proceeded towards Mirāj to take some rest and pay his respects to his old mother,⁶ who was residing in the town or in one of its dependent townships named Ganglī. Zafar Khān had a considerable force under him⁷ which was augmented by several other rebel chiefs joining him with their forces. Nūru 'd-Dīn came first and he was followed by Ulugh Khān.⁸ Day by day the ranks of Zafar Khān swelled by many more soldiers joining them.

One night, while camping on the way at Halakbal, Nārayan's subordinates (Nālks)⁹ attacked Khwājah Jahān Nūru 'd-Dīn's camp, killing some of his men. The Muslims woke up, routed the assailants and Ḥusayn Hatīyah chased them for some distance. As the night was dark, he soon returned to the camp.

1. *Firishtah*, Vol. I, p. 142.

2. *Baranī*, pp. 514-15.

3. *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī* (Translation), Vol. III, p. 9.

4. *The Burhān*, p. 14, line 7.

5. *Firishtah*, Vol. I, p. 142.

6. *'Iṣmī*, p. 541, lines 17-18.

7. *Ibid*, p. 540, last line.

8. *Ibid*, p. 541, lines 4-5.

9. *Ibid*, lines 7-8.

The rebel force reached Miraj, Zafar Khān, after paying a visit to his mother, marched to Sitalgāh leaving Nūru 'd-Dīn at Miraj. While Ḥasan was absent, Nūru 'd-Dīn committed suicide by killing himself with a sword.¹ The cause for the suicide of Nūru 'd-Dīn is not far to seek. He was the chief lieutenant of Ismā'il Mukh, and having taken a leading part in the insurrection against Malik Aḥmad, son of Lāchīn, had won the title of Khwājah Jahān. He had been a more important noble of the court of Nāṣiru 'd-Dīn than Ḥasan, who, just a few months before, received the title of Zafar Khān from that ruler. By the time the rebel force under Ḥasan, (now Zafar Khān) reached Miraj, the original jāgīr of Ḥasan, the scale had definitely turned in favour of our hero. At this point Nūru 'd-Dīn, who had been accompanying Ḥasan in a rather subordinate capacity, whose camp had recently suffered an attack at the hands of the Hindus, and who had been left behind in the jāgīr of his fast rising rival, must have found the situation highly bitter and humiliating. The suicide of Nūru 'd-Dīn caused much tumult and turmoil at Miraj. Ḥasan hastened back to his jāgīr and restored order.² It is possible to suspect foul play, but we have no substantial evidence to prove it.

While Zafar Khān was at Miraj wondering if the dream, which he had seen before leaving for Dawlatābād, was a false one, he was again called upon in a dream to proceed against Sartīz. Ḥasan knew that the energetic Turkoman (Sartīz) would not leave him in peace. Hence he made all necessary preparations to face him and set out from his jāgīr.

According to 'Iṣāmī, the first place which he captured was Irgah where he stayed for a month or two consolidating his position.³ Then he marched from Irgah to Sagar⁴, the

1. 'Iṣāmī, pp. 541-42.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 542, lines 6-8.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 543, lines 10-11. Prof. Shērwanī calls the place Arka but he too is not able to identify it. See page 46.

4. 'Iṣāmī, p. 543.

Fawjdār of which town was friendly to Ḥasan¹ and co-operated with him in his undertaking against Sartīz. Here Sikandar Khān, Qīr Khān, and Ḥusayn joined the ranks of Ḥasan.² Even after this, according to 'Iṣāmī, Ḥasan had under him only three or four thousand soldiers.³

The rebel forces under Zafar Khān were assembled at Sagar, while Sartīz was holding Gulbargah. Ḥasan took the initiative in his own hands and proposed to the rebels that they should proceed towards Dawlatābād and draw out Sartīz from the fort of Gulbargah to pursue them so that he might be dealt with as occasion demanded, and that if he failed to pursue them, they should proceed to Dawlatābād and relieve it, leaving Sartīz to be dealt with later.⁴ The leaders agreed, and the rebel force set out towards Dawlatābād.⁵ When Sartīz came to know that Zafar Khān was marching towards Dawlatābād, he issued forth from Gulbargah and hastened after the rebel army.⁶ The insurgent force had reached the Godāvarī⁷ and was collecting boats to cross the river, when a spy brought the news that Sartīz was near at hand.⁸ Zafar Khān halted there and sent a band of scouts under Ḥusayn.⁹ This batch met the scouts of Sartīz under Mubārak, routed it and bought a few captives.¹⁰ Ḥasan now turned round and marched past the Ghattī of Mahwah¹¹ when he heard that Sartīz, having left Bīr behind him, was camping under the pro-

1. 'Iṣāmī, p. 543, last but three lines.

2. Ibid, p. 544, lines 1-2.

3. Ibid, line 3.

4. Ibid, p. 544.

5. Ibid.

6. Ibid, p. 545.

7. Ibid, p. 445, couplet 2.

8. Ibid, couplets 7 and 8.

9. Ibid, couplet 11.

10. Ibid, pp. 545-46.

11. Ibid, p. 546, line 7.

tection of an entrenchment (katghar)¹ at Sindhtan² (Sindhēn)³ in the region of the Ghattī of Mahwah.⁴ Ḥasan advanced towards that place.

Firishtah says : "For nearly twenty days both the sides remained entrenched, none venturing to start the battle, until the raja of Telingāna, who was very much exasperated against Muḥammad Tughluq Shāh, sent 15,000 foot-soldiers from Kawlās to the help of Ḥasan Kānkawī Bahmanī entitled Zafar Khān, and another force of 5,000 horse came from Nāṣiru 'd-Dīn Shāh to Zafar Khān's aid along with the treasure of Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughluq Shāh which had fallen in Nāṣiru 'd-Dīn's hands. Thus the army of Zafar Khān haviog swollen into a large force, he ordered the drum of war to be beaten and arranged his army under the leadership of Sayfu 'd-Dīn Ghūrī".⁵

Zafar Khān placed his vanguard under Iskandar Khān and Qīr Khān, the right wing under Ulugh Khān and Ḥusayn, the left one under 'Alī Lāchī and Sharfu 'd-Dīn Pārsī and himself took up the, command of the centre.⁶ On the other side Sartiz also came out of the entrenchment and arranged his forces in the battle array.⁷ Zafar Khān commenced the battle

1. Ibn Baṭṭūṭah gives the following description of a *katkar* :

"They make an enclosure with wood (pallisades) having four doors. They call the enclosure the *katkar*, and make another smaller one around the tent of the Sulṭān. Outside the bigger enclosure they erect stone platforms about waist high on which they kindle fire in the night. Slaves and sentries are posted near them, each one holding a bundle of slender reeds. If any infidels come to attack by night, each one of them (the slaves and the sentries) lights the bundle in his hands. On account of the excess of light the night is converted into day and horsemen chase away the infidels." (Vol IV, p. 193).

2. 'Iṣāmī, p. 546, line 11.

3. Ibid, foot-note. See also Appendix D.

4. Ibid, line 11.

5. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 276, lines 15-19. Sayfu 'd-Dīn joined the rebels much later. See Chapter V.

6. 'Iṣāmī, pp. 546-47.

7. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 276, lines 19-20.

and ordered 'Alī Lāchī, the commander of the left wing, to advance towards the enemy and open the contest. When the Turkoman (Sartīz) "whose courage and dash were proverbial"¹ went into action, the forces of Sagar wavered.² But Ḥasan who was observing the slackness on the part of his comrades, advanced his centre, led a furious charge supported by Iskandar Khān, Qīr Khān and Ḥusayn and routed Qabūla of Lahore and 'Alī Charghadī.³ The flight of these two stalwarts gave the signal for others to follow suit. The battle raged from the morning till the midday.⁴ Sartīz, who remained firm and fought courageously, was unhorsed by an arrow,⁵ and one of the soldiers, who recognised him, cut off his head and brought it to Zafar Khān.⁶ Qamar, the son-in-law of Sartīz, who was wounded and taken captive, and another chief by name Maḥmūd, who was made a prisoner, were executed.⁷ Several other chiefs were taken alive—Tāju 'd-Dīn, son of Qala'tā, Sayfu 'd-Dīn the 'Arab, Pathūra, Gandhra, Siva Rai.⁸ The rout was complete. Many of the soldiers of Sartīz were killed, some got drowned and the rest escaped.⁹ A few detachments of the fleeing forces shut themselves up in some of the strong forts of the Deccan like Bīdar¹⁰ and Qandhār¹¹ and others managed to reach Mandu.¹² A very large and costly booty fell into the hands of the rebel soldiers.¹³ Zafar Khān pardoned some of the prisoners

1. Firishtah, line 19.]

2. 'Iqāmī, p. 248, first two lines.

3. Ibid, lines 13-14.

4. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 276.

5. 'Iqāmī, p. 548, last 3 lines.

6. Ibid, p. 549.

7. Ibid, p. 542.

8. Ibid, p. 549.

9. Ibid.

10. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 276, line 7 from below.

11. Ibid.

12. Ibid.

13. 'Iqāmī, p. 550.

and appointed Malik Tāju 'd-Dīn to be in charge of the Ghattī of Bīr.¹

After defeating and killing Sartīz, Zafar Khān resumed his march at the head of a mighty host, stage by stage, rallying and recruiting as many soldiers as possible and pursuing the remnant of Sartīz's force.²

Hasan's victory was the death blow to the imperial cause in the Deccan. Flushed with victory, Hasan marched to Dawlatābād. On his approach the royal troops, 12,000 strong³ under Khudāwand Zādah Qiwāmu 'd-Dīn, Malik Jawhar and Zahiru 'l-Juyūsh raised the siege and hastily retreated to Dhār. Sulṭān Nāşiru 'd-Dīn Ismā'īl, who had remained besieged for six months,⁴ came some distance and met his victorious general at Nizāmpūr, about three and a half miles from the fortress.⁵ There was a scene of utmost enthusiasm and Nāşiru 'd-Dīn entertained Hasan for a fortnight.⁶

Nāşiru 'd-Dīn was an old man who loved ease. He realised that the whole army looked on Hasan as its natural leader. So he wisely resolved to descend gracefully from the throne and yield place to the victorious Hasan. Summoning his officers, he told them that his great age rendered him incapable of holding the reins of so young a kingdom surrounded by such powerful enemies, and announced his intention of abdicating in favour of and swearing allegiance to a worthier leader whom they might elect.

The election of Hasan was a foregone conclusion. He had driven the imperial troops from the Deccan, and his claim to descent from Bahman, son of Isfandiyār, seemed to mark him

1. 'Iṣāmī, p. 550, lines 3 and 4.

2. The Burhān, p. 14.

3. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 276.

4. 'Iṣāmī, p. 552, line 8.

5. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 276, last but one line.

6. Ibid, last two lines.

out for the honour of kingship. On August 3, 1347,¹ he was acclaimed ruler of the Deccan under the title of Abu 'l-Muẓaffar 'Alā'u 'd-Dīn Bahman Shāh.² This date (Friday, the 24th Rabī' II, A.H. 748,) given in one of the reports of the *Burbān-i-Ma'āthir*³ is borne out by *Firishtah*⁴ and '*Iṣāmī*.⁵ There is another report furnished by the *Burbān-i-Ma'āthir* itself which places the coronation of Ḥasan on Friday, the 28th Sha'bān, A.H. 748 (3rd December, 1347 A. D.)⁶, but it is not borne out by any other report available to us. Hence we may assume that Ḥasan became the Sultān of the Deccan on August 3, 1347 A.D., and was crowned in the mosque of Pādshāh Quṭbu 'd-Dīn.⁷ Bahman Shāh adopted the black colour of the 'Abbāsids for his canopy.⁸

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1. The *Burbān*, p. 14, last but 3 lines.
 2. '*Iṣāmī*, p. 554, last two lines.
 3. The *Burbān*, p. 14, last but 3 lines.
 4. *Firishtah*, Vol. I, p. 277, lines 6 and 7.
 5. '*Iṣāmī*, p. 554, couplets 8 and 9.
 6. The *Burbān*, p. 14, last but 4 lines.
 7. *Firishtah*, Vol. I, p. 277, line 6,
 8. *Ibid*, line 7.



CHAPTER II

HASAN'S CAREER BEFORE HE BECAME THE SULTĀN

We have two genealogies of Ḥasan, one furnished by Firishtah¹ and the other by the author of the *Burhān-i-Ma'āthir*.² According to them Ḥasan was the son of Kaikāūs Mūḥammad, a Persian who claimed descent from Bahman, son of Isfandiyār, the ancient king of the Kiyānī dynasty of Persia who is indentified by Sykes with Artaxerxes Longimanus (Ardashīr Darāzdast)³ who died in 424 B.C.

The genealogy quoted by Firishtah runs as follows :—

"Alā'u 'd-Dīn, Ḥasan, son of Kaikāūs, son of Muḥammad, son of 'Alī, son of Ḥasan, son of Sahām, son of Sīmūn, son of Sallām, son of Ibrāhīm, son of Naṣīr, son of Maṣṣūr, son of Rustam, son of Kaiqubād, son of Minūchihr, son of Namdār, son of Isfandiyār, son of Kaiyūmarth, son of Khurshīd, son of Ṣa'sāi, son of Faghfūr, son of Farrukh, son of Shahryār, son of 'Āmir, son of Suhayd, son of Malik Dā'ūd, son of Hūshang, son of Nik Kardār, son of Fīrūz Bakht, son of Nūh, son of Ṣānī' who descended from Bahrām Gūr. Bahrām Gūr is a descendant of Sāsān who descended from Bahman, son of Isfandiyār, who was one of the rulers of the Kiyānī dynasty and it is on this account that 'Alā'u 'd-Dīn Ḥasan and his great descendants are called Bahmanīyah."⁴

The following is the pedigree quoted by 'Alī bin 'Azīzillāh Ṭabāṭaba from the *'Uyūnu 't-Tawārikh* :—

"Ṣulṭān 'Alā'u 'd-Dunyā wa 'd-Dīn Ḥasan Bahman Shāh, son of Kaikāūs Muḥammad, son of 'Alī, son of Ḥasan, son of Behnām, son of Sīmūn, son of Sallām, son of Nūh, son of Ibrāhīm, son of Naṣīr, son of Maṣṣūr, son of Nūh, son of Ṣānī' son of Bahrām, son of Shahryār⁵, son of

1. Firishtah, Vol. I, pp. 281-82.

2. The Burhān, pp. 11-12.

3. History of Persia, Vol. I, p. 146.

4. Firishtah, Vol. I, pp. 281-82.

5. The Printed copy reads Shahrīn.

Shād,¹ son of Nūshīn, son of Davād,² son of Bahrām Gūr. But God the High alone knows the truth of the matter. In consequence of his descent the king was known as "Bahman".³

His mother, as recorded by Firishtah, was the sister of Malik Hizbaru 'd-Dīn alias Zafar Khan,⁴ one of the four⁵ great nobles of 'Ala'u 'd-Dīn Khaljī and the greatest warrior under that monarch who defeated the Mongol hordes several times.⁶ He was the governor of Samānā, the Punjāb and Multān⁷ till 1298 (A. H. 697) in which year he fell fighting against the forces of Qutlugh Khwājah, having been left in the lurch by the envious monarch who had begun to grow jealous of his own loyal and heroic general.⁸

According to 'Iṣāmī, Sulṭān 'Alā'u 'd-Dīn sent Ulugh Khān to the help of Zafar Khān, but due to some misunderstanding between the two generals, Ulugh Khān failed in his duty.⁹

If Firishtah's account that Ḥasan was a brother of 'Alī Shāh,¹⁰ who revolted against Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughluq

1. Major Haig gives the name as Sād son of Nūshīn. See J. A. S. Bengal, 1904, Extra Number, p. 3.

2. The printed copy (Dihli, 1936) gives the name as Dā'ūd.

3. The Burhān, pp. 11-12; The Indian Antiquary, Vol. XXVIII, p. 141. It may be noted that between Bahrām Gūr and Ḥasan there was a period of more than 900 years and the gensalogy of the Burhān contains too few names to fill up the gap. Firishtah's gensalogy up to Sāni', if continued further in the light of the list furnished by the Burhān, may supply a few more than the required number of generations. Kaikāūs Muḥammad, for instance, is treated as one name by the Burhān, but Firishtah regards the two words as the names of the son and the father.

4. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 138, last two lines.

5. Baranī, p. 263.

6. Ibid, pp. 253 seq.

7. Ibid, pp. 254 seqq; Firishtah, I, 104, lines 6 and 7.

8. Ibid, p. 260 seqq; Firishtah, page 104.

9. 'Iṣāmī, p. 263.

10. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 138, last line.

in the Deccan in 1339-40, is correct, then we can name a few more of Ḥasan's brothers, for we learn from 'Iṣāmī that, of 'Alī Shāh's brothers, 'Abdullāh, Aḥmad Shāh, Malik Ikhtiyāru'd-Dīn and Muḥammad Shāh also took part in the revolt.¹

Thus Ḥasan had five brothers, 'Abdullāh, 'Alī Shāh, Aḥmad Shāh, Malik Ikhtiyāru'd-Dīn and Muḥammad Shāh. The fact that these five brothers were all Ṣafar Khānīs is borne out by 'Iṣāmī.² 'Abdullāh was taken prisoner³ during 'Alī Shāh's revolt and executed.⁴ Muḥammad Shāh lost his life in the engagement with the imperial forces.⁵ Hence four brothers were left, 'Alī Shāh alias Narthū,⁶ Ikhtiyāru'd-Dīn, Aḥmad Shāh and Ḥasan "Gangū". These brothers, being the nephews of one of the four great nobles of 'Alā'u'd-Dīn's court, should have been men of some account. Professor Shērwanī thinks that Ṣafar Khān's having been succeeded by Ghāzi Malik, who later became the founder of the Tughluq dynasty, "was no doubt responsible for the antagonism of the brothers 'Alī and Ḥasan to the Tughluq sway"⁷ and that it led to the proclamation of the elder brother 'Alī as king in Dharūr in 1340 as 'Alā'u'd-Dīn Malik Shāh.⁸

I am not fully convinced that Ḥasan was a brother of 'Alī Shāh; firstly because Firishtah is all alone in reporting the fact and his testimony is not borne out by any other writer; and secondly because there is overwhelming evidence, as we shall see in the next chapter, to prove that Ḥasan claimed

1. 'Iṣāmī, pp. 484 and 485.

2. Ibid, p. 485, lines 10 and 11.

3. Ibid, p. 498, line 12.

4. Ibid, p. 499, line 2.

5. Ibid, p. 498, line 13.

6. Ibn Baṭṭūṭah calls him *Kar* (deaf), Vol. III, p. 356, line 8 and p. 357, line 5.

7. See proceedings of the Indian History Congress, 1938, p. 97.

8. 'Iṣāmī, p. 493.

descent from a Persian king whereas 'Iṣāmī describes 'Alī Shāh as belonging to the Khaljī tribe.¹ The same author writes about Ḥasan :

"He is a pleasant lamp from Bahman's house".²

In another place he states :

"One man was equal to two hundred men,
For he was Bahmanī as well as Bahman."³

In a third passage he says :

"I have not seen a monarch on a par
With this descendant of Isfandiyār."⁴

'Iṣāmī's evidence must have greater value as his is a contemporary testimony, and he wrote under the orders of the Sulṭān himself. Thirdly, 'Iṣāmī and Baranī, two contemporary historians, both of whom record the rebellion of 'Alī Shāh and also that of Ḥasan, do not say that Ḥasan was a brother of 'Alī Shāh although Baranī mentions that 'Alī Shāh was the nephew of Hizbaru 'd-Dīn Zafar Khān.⁵

Sometimes a consanguine relationship is established between 'Alī Shāh and Ḥasan through their common title of 'Alā'u 'd-Dīn and Ḥasan's title of Zafar Khān which was the one enjoyed by the famous uncle of 'Alī Shāh⁶ and was bestowed by the latter on his brother Malik Aḥmad.⁷ It may be pointed out here that Ḥasan adopted all the titles of 'Alā'u 'd-Dīn Khaljī—Sikandarū 'th-thānī, Yamīnu 'l-Khilāfah, Nāṣiru Amīri 'l-Mu'minīn, Abu 'l-Muẓaffar 'Alā'u

1. 'Iṣāmī, p. 484, 3rd line from below.

2. Ibid, p. 521, line 5.

3. Ibid, p. 9, line 10.

4. Ibid, p. 578, last line

5. Baranī, p. 488.

6. See Prof. Sherwānī's article in the Journal of Indian History, Vol. XX and his *Bahmanis of the Deccan*, p. 50.

7. 'Iṣāmī, p. 493, line 4.

'd-Dīo.¹ Moreover, the fact that an outstanding general of the rebel (Mukhi) camp under the Tughluqs was bestowed the title of a distinguished general of the preceding dynasty is not enough to establish a blood relationship between the two, especially when the contemporary writers have failed to record the existence of such a relationship.

The difficulty concerning the original nationality of Hasan and that of the other five brothers can be solved if we consider 'Alī Shāh and his brothers to be cousins of Hasan on the mother's side or if the Khaljīs could be proved to be of Irānīan origin. But as far as we know, the Khaljīs, in their days of power, were considered to be Afghāns² and Major Raverty, "an authority from whom it is seldom safe to differ" calls them Turks.³ 'Isāmī also writes that the Khaljīs were Turks.⁴

Hasan was born in the year 692-93 A. H. (1293-1294 A.D.), for Firishtah reports that he died at the age of 67,⁵ and as we shall see in Chapter VIII, Hasan ascended the throne on the 24th of Rabi'ū 'l-Ākhir, 748 A.H.,⁶ ruled for eleven years⁷ ten months⁸ and seven days⁹ and died on the 1st of Rabi'ū 'l-Awwal, 760 A. H. (31st January, 1359 A. D.).

Regarding Hasan's place of origin, Mawlawī 'Abdul Jabbār of Hyderabad writes :

1. Compare the coin of 'Alā'u 'd-Dīn Khaljī (Numismatic Chronicle, 1885, p. 219, plate XI, fig. 8) and that of Bahman Shāh reproduced by me on Plate III, Fig. 1, in the next chapter.

2. The Cambridge History of India, Vol. III, p. 91.

3. Ibid, and also the foot-note.

4. 'Isāmī, page 206.

5. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 281, line 13.

6. Ibid, Vol. I, p. 277, line 6 and 7: the Burhān, p. 14 last but three lines.

7. Ibid, Vol. I, p. 281, line 12: the Burhān, p. 29, line 21.

8. The Tadhkiratu 'l-Mulūk, published in the Ta'īkh (Hyderabad) Vol. III, Part IX, January-March, 1931, Supplement, p. 19, first line.

9. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 281, line 12: the Burhān, p. 29, line 21.

" 'Aynu 'd-Dīn Bijāpūrī has written in the *Mulḥaqāt-i-Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* that on the death of Ḥasan's father at Ghūr, his mother with her children went over to her brother Hizharu 'd-Dīn Zafar Khān, the Governor of the Punjāh and Multān.. Both 'Alī Shāh and Ḥasan Shūh along with the mother lived with their uncle. 'Alī Shāh was a youth and Ḥasan Shāh was in his childhood. The uncle was teaching and training both of them. Zafar Khān was killed in a battle with the Mughuls which took place between Dīhlī and Lahore in the year 697 A. H. After the death of Zafar Khān, Ḥasan Kāngū and others continued to live in Multān maintaining themselves from the already accumulated wealth."¹

Quoting the *Ta'rīkh-i-Tāhīrī*, which is also lost to the world like the *Mulḥaqāt*, the same Mawlawī Šāhib writes : "Ḥasan Gangawī Bahmanī started from Multān and after travelling for some days reached Dīhlī in the morning and encamped on the bank of the Jamna."² He further quotes the same book to the effect that Gangū Pandit saw him there sleeping fast, a cobra protecting his face from the rising sun.

Omitting all superstitious details, the main story, that Ḥasan's family came from Ghūr to Multān and from there to Dīhlī, can be relied upon if the passages of the *Mulḥaqāt* and the *Ta'rīkh-i-Tāhīrī* had been quoted verbatim by 'Ahdul Jahbār or if one could be satisfied with the accuracy and historical acumen of the Mawlawī Šāhib.

He writes that he has utilized some of the contemporary writings, but still he calls Bahman Shāh, Ḥasan Gangawī Bahmanī and nowhere gives his regnal name "Bahman Shāh." His statements are not documented and even where crucial points are discussed he has not quoted the original texts.

1, Maḥbūbu 'l-Waṣan, pp. 48-49.

2, Ibid, p, 51,

Citing Firishtah and Baranī for the information that Ghūr was 'Alī Shāh's birth place, 'Abdul Jabbār writes :

"Firishtah, Baranī and other historians have written that the Sulṭān ordered that 'Alī Shāh should be sent back to his original place of Ghūr."¹ The passage of Firishtah reads : "And the Sulṭān, exiling 'Alī Shāh and his brothers, sent them to Ghaznah".² The passage of Baranī records : "Sulṭān Muḥammad sent 'Alī Shāh and his brothers to Ghaznah".³

Neither the report given by Firishtah nor the one furnished by Baranī suggests that Ghūr was the original place of 'Alī Shāh. Still basing on these passages he insists : "It is also established from the reports of Firishtah and Ḍiyā' that Ḥasan Gangawī Bahmanī's original country and place of birth was Ghūr. The same report is found in the Riḥlah of Ibn Baṭṭūṭah also."⁴

The following is the relevant passage from Ibn Baṭṭūṭah : "The Sulṭān pardoned him ('Alī Shāh) and exiled him to the town of Ghaznah in the province of Khurāsān. He stayed there for some time. Then, yearning for his country, he tried to return to it, for God had ordained his death. He was caught in as-Sind and brought to the Sulṭān who said to him, 'you have certainly come to kindle rebellion once more', and passed a verdict (of death) on him. Accordingly he was beheaded."⁵

From the foregoing comparing of 'Abdul Jabbār's version with the original texts referred to by him one is constrained to be cautious in accepting any citation given by the Mawlawī Ṣāhib. Ibn Baṭṭūṭah's statement that India (may be the Deccan) was the waṭan of 'Alī Shāh should not be ignored.

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1. Maḥbūb 'l-Waṭan, p. 48.
 2. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 139, line 3.
 3. Baranī, p. 514.
 4. Maḥbūb 'l-Waṭan, page 48.
 5. Ibn Baṭṭūṭah, Vol. III, pp. 357-58.

Yet in the absence of any other details concerning the origin of Ḥasān, we have to grant, however reluctantly it may be, that Ḥasān came from Ghūr to Multān and thence moved southwards. The matrimonial connection between Bahman Shāh and Sayfu 'd-Dīn of Ghūr, the great trust and reliance reposed by the former on the latter in placing two of the four provinces under Sayfu 'd-Dīn and his son and the appointment of the Ghūrī veteran as the Wakīl or Prime Minister of the kingdom are positive factors indicating some affinity with Ghūr. The fact that a sister-in-law of Ḥasān had been living in Multān until she was sent for by Ḥasān on the occasion of his son's marriage shows that Ḥasān's family had some connection with that town.

Ḥasān is reported to have lived at Gangī, a suburb of Mīraj which was later known as Murtazābād.¹ There he used to visit (sometimes with his mother) Shaykh Muḥammad Sirāj Junaydī, and pass most of his time in his cell.² Rafī'u 'd-Dīn Ibrāhīm, the author of the *Tadhkiratu 'l-Mulūk*, reports a few actions of Ḥasān which the Shaykh interpreted as demanding royalty. One day Ḥasān is reported to have put the Shaykh's turban on his own head when the Shaykh remarked: "Ḥasān demands from me the crown of royalty".³ Likewise, one day the youth filled a large vessel with earth and lifted it up. The Shaykh observed: "Ḥasān desires to shoulder the weight (responsibility) of the world."⁴ Ḥasān seems to have been deeply devoted to Shaykh Sirāj,⁵ for it is related: "One day the Sheikh was asleep, and as the sun was shining on him, Ḥasān sheltered him with his mantle. When the Sheikh awoke and perceived this, he remarked:

1. Indian Antiquary, Vol. XXVIII, p. 154=Ta'rīkh, Supplement, p. 16, line 3.

2. Ibid.=Ibid, p. 16, lines 1 and 2.

3. Ibid.=Ibid, lines 4 and 5.

4. Ibid.=Ibid, lines 8 and 9.

5. Firishtah also records the fact that he was a contemporary of Shaykh Muḥammad Sirāj, Vol. I, p. 161, line 17.

"Hasan solicits from me the royal canopy".¹ This devotion to a Sunnī Shaykh on the part of Ḥasan and his mother clearly shows that the family belonged to the Sunnī sect.

It is not unusual in India to associate the rise of a common man to kingship with some service rendered to him by a cobra when he is asleep. Invariably the observer would be a Brahman, and he would make the recipient of the honour promise that, in the event of his becoming a king, he would make the Brahman his minister. The *Tadhkiratu 'l-Mulūk* narrates such a story in the case of Ḥasan too.²

Two possibly independent writers (Firishtah and Rafī'u 'd-Dīn) give two different stories according to which Ḥasan, in his youth, is reported to have dug out a large treasure which, again in two variant ways, became the basis of his rise to power.

Firishtah writes that Ḥasan in his early days lived in Dihlī³ and served Kānkū Bahman, an astrologer enjoying high favour with the Prince Muḥammad (son of Tughluq Shāh). He was spending his days in extreme want; and one day, unable to bear the poverty, he requested Kānkū to provide him with some job. The Brahman gave him a pair of oxen and two labourers and permitted him to till a piece of waste land in the neighbourhood of Dihlī for his own benefit. Ḥasan, driven by extreme misery and poverty, obeyed his command and took to the profession of a farmer.⁴ While at work one day, the plough stuck hard into the ground. The labourer informed Ḥasan who, on inspection of the spot, found that the plough had stuck to a chain. Examining more closely Ḥasan discovered that the chain was fastened to the

1. Indian Antiquary, Vol. XXVIII, p. 154=Ta'rikh, Supplement, p. 16, lines 4 and 5.

2. Ibid, pp, 153-54=Ibid, p. 16, lines 17 and 18.

3. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 273.

4. Ibid, Vol. I, p, 274.

neck of a vessel full of 'Alā'ī' gold coins (*ashrafis*) and uncoined gold. Instead of misappropriating it for himself, he covered it with a sheet of cloth and carrying it in the night to the house of Kānkūī Bahman, told him the truth. Kānkū Bahman, commending him for his honesty, went to the Prince the next morning and narrated to him the strange incident. The Prince, highly appreciating the trustworthiness and capability of Ḥasan, sent for him, and after putting him in the proper trim, recommended him to his father who conferred on him the office of a Centurion (*Amīr-i-Ṣadah*).²

"The only authority which we have for this story is that of Firishtah, for Khāfī Khān, being admittedly little more than a copyist (so far as the affairs of the Deccan are concerned) cannot be regarded as an original authority. The authors of the *Burhān-i-Ma'āsir*³ and the *Tazkiratu-l-Mulūk*⁴ relate other legends, all more or less improbable, but do not commit themselves to Firishtah's account of Ḥasan's servitude to the house of a Hindu".⁵

Rafī'u'd-Dīn relates :

"Once, when Ḥasan's mother went to the Shekh⁶ and represented to him some of the distress of their circumstances, the Shekh told them to begin tilling the ground in a certain place and foretold that their wishes would be fulfilled.... Then the Shekh, taking Ḥasan with him, went to the piece of ground which he had told him to cultivate, and there disclosed the treasure. Ḥasan, by order of the Shekh, took away as much as he required, expended it in raising an army, and then informed the Shekh of what he had done".⁷

1. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 274.

2. Ibid.

3. The *Burhān*, pp. 11 seqq.

4. *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 153-54 = *Ta'rikh*, Vol. III, Part IX, (January-March, 1931) Suppl., pp. 15-17.

5. J. A. S. B. Extra Number, 1904, p. 2.

6. Shaykh Muḥammad Sirāj Junaydī at Gangī.

7. *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 154.

Three holy persons are reported to have foretold Hasan's rise to royalty. *Firishtah*¹ and Rafi'u 'd-Dīn Ibrāhīm² say that one Gangū, a Brahman by caste, prophesied Hasan's rise to be the Sultān of the Deccan. The *Burhān-i-Ma'āthir*³ attributes a prophecy to Shaykh Niẓāmu 'd-Dīn Awliyā' and the *Tadhkiratu 'l-Mulūk* to Shaykh Muḥammad Sirāj Junaydī.⁴

Firishtah narrates that Kānkū Bahman informed Hasan that he had cast his horoscope and found that he would soon rise to great distinction and be eminently favoured by the Almighty. He further said, "Then make a covenant with me that, if the Bestower of Bounties should grant you a great kingdom, you would make my name a part of your name so that through the good fortune of your name, my name may also attain continuity and permanence and that you would place your treasury under my charge and that of my descendants."⁵

Rafi'u 'd-īn writes that Gangū Pandit saw a cobra driving the flies off from the face of Hasan, while he was sleeping in a forest under the shade of a tree and foretold that he would one day become a king. According to the same author, Shaykh Muḥammad Sirāj Junaydī not only prophesied that Hasan would become a king, but actually helped him by leading him to the discovery of a buried treasure. From that treasure Hasan fitted out a force and started his career as a soldier.⁶

The third holy man who is said to have foretold the rise of Hasan was the great saint Niẓāmu 'd-Dīn Awliyā'. Sayyid 'Alī bin 'Azīzillāh Ṭabāṭabā, the author of the

1. *Firishtah*, Vol. I, p. 274.

2. *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XXVIII, p. 154.

3. *The Burhān*, p. 12.

4. *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 154.

5. *Firishtah*, Vol. I, p. 274.

6. *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 154.

urhān-i-Mā'thir relates that when Ḥasan went to Dihlī in order to enrol himself in the army of Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughluq, on a certain day he wanted to meet Shaykh Niẓāmu 'd-Dīn Awliyā'. That day, it so happened that Shaykh Niẓāmu 'd-Dīn held a great feast in his monastery which Sulṭān Muḥammad also attended. Just after the Sulṭān had left, Ḥasan chanced to go to the door of the monastery. The Shaykh perceived Ḥasan's arrival with the help of his esoteric powers and told his servants, "One king has left and another is waiting at the door; call him in".¹ The servants came and led Ḥasan in. The saint treated the newcomer with great respect and prophesied that he would become the ruler of one of the regions and even casually hinted at the Deccan.² The Shaykh then pressed a loaf of bread on one of his fingers and offered it to Ḥasan saying that it was the umbrella of *salṭanat* and *khilāfat*. Ḥasan understood the prophecy and left the company of the Shaykh filled with hopes of kingship. Thereafter he turned his attention towards conquest and acquisition of territory.³

The next thing that we learn about Ḥasan was his enrolment as an *Amīr-i-Ṣadah* in the imperial army. According to *Firishtah* he was enrolled, as we have already noticed, in the days of Sulṭān Ghiyāthu 'd-Dīn Tughluq.⁴ But in the passage quoted herebelow the author of the *Burhān* holds that Ḥasan got himself enrolled in the reign of Muḥammad.

"That Joseph-faced Sulṭān (Ḥasan) of good character and enlightened heart, forced by the fickleness of periods, the changes caused by the crookedness of the rotating heavens, and the adversities brought about by the cruel days, during the reign of the great Sulṭān Muḥammed Shāh Tughluq,

1. The *Burhān*, p. 12 : Also see, *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī* (Bibliotheca Indica). Vol. III, p. 6.

2. The *Burhān*, p. 13, lines 2-3. *Firishtah*, Vol. I, p. 274.

3. The *Burhān*, p. 12.

4. *Firishtah*, Vol. I, p. 274. See *Supra*, p. 30.

whose sway had been firmly established over most of the plains and mountains of India, arrived at the capital city of Dihlī, which has been the seat of victorious Sultāns and famous monarchs, and not revealing, in view of the inappropriateness of the times, his parentage and gear descent, generation by generation, from king Kaiyūmarth Shāh, got himself enrolled among the servants of Sultān Muḥammad Shāh Tughluq".¹

According to Firishta's account, Ḥasan, after the prophecy by Niẓāmu 'd-Dīn Awliyā', was yearning for an opportunity to go to the Deccan. Muḥammad Tughluq, when he appointed Qutlugh Khān as the Governor of the Deccan, permitted such of the officers, as preferred to go with him, to do so. Ḥasan and a few companions of his accompanied the Governor designate to the Deccan.² But there are a few grounds to think that Ḥasan was in the Deccan even before the appointment of Qutlugh Khān. Firstly, Ḥasan, if he was a citizen of Dihlī,³ could not have ordinarily continued there after the second and elaborate evacuation of Dihlī.⁴ If he had been enrolled as an *Amīr-i-Sadah* in the days of Sultān Ghiyāthu 'd-Dīn Tughluq, as contended by Firishta,⁵ and had been kept there till the appointment of Qutlugh Khān as the Viceroy of the Deccan⁶ (after the transfer of the capital from Dēvagirī back to Dihlī), what was Ḥasan doing in the meantime at Dihlī? Secondly, the post of an *Amīr-i-Sadah* meant an office over a certain area.⁷ Ḥasan's original *jāgīr* is said to have comprised Balgāon, Hukayrī and Miraj.⁸ Thirdly, the account of Sayyid 'Alī Ṭabāṭabā supports the view that Ḥasan was living away from Dihlī and that he went to that

1. The Burhān, p. 12.

2. Firishta, Vol. I, p. 274, line 20.

3. Ibid, p. 273, last but one line,

4. Ibid, p. 136,

5. Ibid, p. 274, line 6.

6. Ibid, p. 274, line 20,

7. Dr. Āghā Mahdī Husain, p. 225.

8. The Burhān, p. 29, lines 11-12.

city for enrolment and there met Shaykh Nizāmu 'd-Dīn Awliyā'.¹ Fourthly, according to 'Iṣāmī, Ḥasan fought against Gurshāsp in the year 1327 A. D. which took place much earlier than the appointment of Qutlugh Khān. Mentioning some of the officers whom Sulṭān Muḥammad ordered to proceed against that prince, Iṣāmī says (in the words of the Sulṭān) obviously referring to his patron who was then a junior officer of about thirty-five :

"The army should include, as well, that chief,
Who's fittest to hold the command-in-chief."²

For the above reasons I have to think that Ḥasan was living in or near Miraj much before the appointment of Qutlugh Khān as the Viceroy of the Deccan.

Firishtah writes that Ḥasan entered the Imperial service during the days of Ghiyāthu 'd-Dīn Tughluq³ and the Burhān says that he did so under Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughluq.⁴ Be that as it may, we find Ḥasan fighting against Gurshāsp at Sagar in 1327.

His brother (according to Firishtah's solitary account)⁵ or, probably, a cousin on the mother's side,⁶ 'Alī Shāh Natthū, was a prominent officer in the army of the Deccan. When Nuṣrat Khān revolted against Sulṭān Muḥammad and Qutlugh Khān gave him battle near Bīdar, 'Alī Shāh commanded the vanguard⁷ and led the assault on the *katghar*⁸ or entrenchment into which the rebels had retreated after their defeat in the open field.⁹ After the fall of Bīdar, Qutlugh Khān despatched 'Alī Shāh in the direction of Kōir to reduce that

1. The Burhān, p. 12, line 7.

2. The Futūḥus-Salāṭīn, p. 425, line 6 from below.

3. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 274.

4. The Burhān, p. 12.

5. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 138, last line.

6. See *supra*, p. 25.

7. 'Iṣāmī, p. 479, line 4.

8. *Ibid*, last two lines.

9. *Ibid*, 4th line from below.

area. On the way, a Hindu chieftain of Telingāna ambushed the Muslim forces at a narrow pass, but 'Alī Shāh succeeded in beating back the attack.¹ In this engagement three of his brothers Aḥmad Shāh, Muḥammad Shāh and Malik Ikhtiyāru 'd-Dīn are reported to have played a prominent part.² 'Alī Shāh held Kōir and its dependencies until his revolt took place in the year 1339-40.

Dealing with 'Alī Shāh's rebellion, Firishta writes: "Finding that region devoid of Governors, he gathered together his brothers, one of whom was Ḥasan Kānkūlī, and in the year 746 A. H.³ treacherously killed Bhiran (Vīran), the Dābiṭ of Gulbargah, who was one of the trusted officers of the Sulṭān."⁴

According to 'Iṣāmī, Bhiran wrote to Qutluḡ Khān complaining that 'Alī Shāh was misappropriating the revenue of Kōir and asking the Viceroy of the Deccan to place that assignment under him. Qutluḡ acceding, Bhiran summoned 'Alī Shāh and chided him in very strong words. Stung by the tongue of the Hindu Dābiṭ, 'Alī Shāh, and his brothers decided to revolt.⁵ Gulbargah was taken by a surprise attack and Bhiran put to death.⁶

'Alī Shāh's revolt was put down and the brothers were arrested and sent to Dihlī from where they were deported to Ghaznah. Baranī reports that two of them returned without permission and were punished by the royal tribunal.⁷ Ibn

1. 'Iṣāmī, pp. 483-84.

2. Ibid., p. 484 lines 8-10.

3. Sir W. Haig and Dr. Maḥdī Ḥusain place this rebellion in the year 740 A.H.; Cambridge History of India, Vol. III, p. 156: Maḥdī Ḥusain, p. 166. The equivalent year of the Christian era given by Dr. Maḥdī Ḥusain is wrong.

4. Firishta, Vol. I, p. 138.

5. 'Iṣāmī, pp. 485-17.

6. Ibid.

7. Baranī, p. 489.

Baṭṭūṭah reports that 'Alī Shāh stayed at Ghaznah for some time and "then yearning for his country, desired to return to it, for God had ordained his death. He was caught in Sind and brought to the Sulṭān. The Sulṭān remarked 'you have come back to kindle mischief once more' and at his command he ('Alī Shāh) was beheaded".¹ The word, *raṭan*, in the above passage of a contemporary writer shows that 'Alī Shāh and his brothers were the natives of India.

Muḥammad Shāh was killed during the rising² and 'Abdullāh was taken prisoner and executed.³ We see Ḥasan playing a glorious role later. Of the remaining three brothers, Alī Shāh and another brother should have returned from Ghaznah and been executed.

When the Centurions of Baroda revolted, Ḥasan was in his jāgīr consisting of Hukayrī, Balgāon and Miraj,⁴ his residence being in the last mentioned town.⁵ According to the *Futūḥ* 's-Salāṭīn, he was then holding the post of a Warden of the Marches.⁶ The *Burhān-i-Ma'āthir* also mentions that he was employed in guarding the province of the Deccan.⁷ On hearing the news of the rebellion, his first impulse was to join the rebels,⁸ but on reconsideration, he waited for a month or two watching the course of events.

Soon Dawlatābād was occupied by the rebels and Ismā'īl Mukh elected ruler of the Deccan. From his capital Ismā'īl fitted out expeditions against the outlying regions and despatched a force under Nūru 'd-Dīn, one of the chief companions of Ismā'īl Mukh,⁹ who had been recently raised

1. Ibn Baṭṭūṭah, Vol. III, p. 358, lines 1-4.

2. 'Iṣṣāmī, p. 498.

3. Ibid, p. 498-99.

4. The *Burhān*, p. 29; 'Iṣṣāmī p. 521, line 4.

5. 'Iṣṣāmī, p. 541.

6. Ibid, p. 521, line 3; p. 526, line 2; p. 527, line 8.

7. The *Burhān*, p. 13, line 26.

8. 'Iṣṣāmī, p. 527.

9. Ibid, p. 516, last but one line.

to the dignity of Khwājah Jahān,¹ Ulugh Khān, Bahrām Afghān and Ḥusayn Hathiyaḥ to take Gulbargah. These chiefs were besieging the town when Ḥasan was seriously considering if he should join them or not.

In the meantime Gandhra, the Hindu Kotwāl of Gulbargah, wrote to Jalāl Duhanī at Kalyān to go to the relief of the town. Jalāl responded to the call and was approaching Gulbargah when he was met and defeated by Ḥusayn Hathiyaḥ. Thus relieved of the fear of an attack from behind, the besiegers proceeded to reduce the fort with the help of *'arrādahs* and *manjanīqs*.

While the siege of Gulbargah was in progress, Ḥasan heard some one commanding him in the dream² to help the rebels. Hence he set out with a considerable force³ and joined the party that was besieging Gulbargah.⁴ Thus from the contemporary report of 'Iṣāmī, it is clear that Ḥasan joined the rebels after Ismā'īl Mukh had been proclaimed the Sulṭān of the Deccan and not before it as Firishtah would make us believe.⁵ When Ismā'īl Mukh was informed of the arrival of Ḥasan with a large army under him, he was immensely pleased and sent Ḥasan a spear with gold bands.⁶

One day at the time of *zuhr* prayer, when the besieging force of Sagar was off its guard, the garrison sallied forth and took it by surprise. Ḥasan, who was always alert, rushed his contingent to the aid of the detachment from Sagar, surrounded the attacking enemy and saved the besieging force from suffering a defeat.⁷

The siege of Gulbargah had continued for three or four

1. 'Iṣāmī, p. 521, line 13.

2. Ibid, p. 526, line 8.

3. Ibid, p. 526, line 14.

4. Ibid.

5. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 142, first line.

6. 'Iṣāmī, p. 527, last but 3 lines.

7. Ibid, lines 6-11.

months thereafter¹, the provision in the fort had almost run out² and the besiegers had already made two breaches in the fort wall,³ when Shihābu 'd-Dīn, son of Jalālu 'd-Dīn, whom Ismā'īl Mukh had made a Kotwāl,⁴ arrived with a message summoning all the leaders of the revolt to Dawlatābād to give battle to Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughluq.

Counsel among the rebel chiefs, who were besieging Gulbargah, was divided, some favouring the continuance of the siege, some others advocating response to the summons from Ismā'īl Mukh, and yet others preferring to go back to their own jāgīrs, forgetting their responsibility and duty to the common cause. Ḥasan vehemently argued that, if the rebellion against the powerful and energetic Sulṭān, Muḥammad bin Tughluq, should succeed, the participants in the revolt should have perfect solidarity, maintain strict discipline and display unflinching loyalty to their chosen head. Then, taking half of the forces which had been besieging Gulbargah and a large quantity of the treasure with him, he went to Dawlatābād and joined the army under Ismā'īl Mukh which was awaiting the arrival of Sulṭān Muḥammad.⁵

Soon thereafter, Gandhra, the Kotwāl of Gulbargah, fled the town and the garrison surrendered. Nūru 'd-Dīn became the Governor of Gulbargah on behalf of Ismā'īl Mukh.

Sulṭān Muḥammad came to Dawlatābād, Ismā'īl offered him battle outside the fort and Ḥasan gave a good account of himself in the engagement. Yet the rebels having been defeated, Ḥasan fled to Mirāj pursued by Sartīz. After gathering a sufficiently large force under him, Ḥasan defeated Sartīz, marched to Dawlatābād, forced the loyalist army to raise the siege and was thereafter elected Sulṭān of the Deccan-

1. 'Iṣmā'īl, p. 527, last but one line.

2. Ibid, last line.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid, p. 528, line 2.

5. Ibid, pp. 528-29.

CHAPTER III WAS HASAN CALLED BAHMANĪ?

Concerning the name of the founder of the "Bahmanī" kingdom, two terms have been the subject of much speculation—"Bahmanī" and "Gangūī". To take the epithet, Bahmanī, first, according to Firishtah, Ḥasan in his early days served Kānkū Bahman, an astrologer enjoying high favour with Prince Muḥammad (son of Tughluq Shāh). The Brahman permitted him to till a piece of waste land and enjoy its fruit. While Ḥasan's labourer was at work one day, the plough struck hard into the ground. On closely inspecting the stuck-up plough, Ḥasan discovered that it had got entangled with a chain fastened to the neck of a vessel full of 'Alā'ī gold coins (*ashrafis*) and uncoined gold. Ḥasan delivered the treasure intact to Kānkū Bahman, who commending him for his honesty, went to the Prince and narrated to him the incident. The Prince, highly appreciating Ḥasan's trustworthiness, recommended him to his father who conferred on him the office of a Centurion (*Amīr-i-Sadah*). Then the Brahman astrologer cast Ḥasan's horoscope and predicted that one day he would become a King and made Ḥasan promise that in the event of his prediction proving true, he would assume his name as a part of his royal title. Fulfilling his promise, Ḥasan placed the charge of the Accounts Department of the kingdom under Kānkū Bahman who at that time had given up his service under Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughluq Shāh and gone over to the Deccan. Further, on the seal of the *farāmīn* (Royal orders) and the signet ring he combined his (Kānkū's) name with his own and made the whole read "The most humble slave of the Glorious Presence", 'Alā'u 'd-Dīn Ḥasan (Kānkūī Bahmanī)."

As pointed out by Sir Wolseley Haig, "the only authority which we have for this story is that of Firishtah, for Khāfi Khān, being admittedly little more than a copyist (so far as

the affairs of the Deccan are concerned), cannot be regarded as an original authority. The author of the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*,¹ the *Burhān-i-Ma'āthir*² and the *Tazkiratu 'l-Mulūk*³ relate other legends, all more or less improbable, but do not commit themselves to Firishtah's account of Ḥasan's servitude to the house of a Hindu."⁴ Further, at least two of his own passages clearly establish that he knew that the epithet *Bahmanī* was attributed to the Sultān with reference to his claim of descent from the ancient King of Persia. Reporting the speech by Ismā'il Mukh (Nāṣiru'd-Dīn Shāh), which was delivered on the eve of Ṣafar Khān's election as the Sultān of the Deccan, Firishtah writes (just a few lines before the passage dealing with the adoption of the surname Kānkūī Bahmanī) :

"Nāṣiru'd-Dīn Shāh (addressing the Centurions) declared, Ḥasan Kānkūī, bearing the title of Ṣafar Khan, is descended from Bahman⁵; the signs of greatness and bravery are prominent on his forehead, and he is deserving of the crown and the throne"⁶.

From this passage it is evident that the author knew that the term *Bahmanī* was connected with Bahman, the King of Persia and not with the name of the priestly caste of the Hindus. In another place Firishtah writes that he came across a booklet in the Royal Library at Aḥmadnagar according to which⁷ "Sultān 'Alā'u'd-Dīn Ḥasan Kānkūī Bahmanī is descended from Bahrām Gūr"⁸ who is supposed to have been descended from Bahman. This second passage of Firishtah also definitely establishes that he knew the fact that Ṣafar Khān claimed descent from Bahman, son of Isfandiyār, and

1. J. A. S. B., 1904, Extra Number, p. 2.

2. The *Burāhn*, p. 11 etc.

3. *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 153-54.

4. J. A. S. B., Extra Number, 1904, p. 2.

5. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 277.

6. Ardashīr, Darāzdest, the King of Persia, who died in 424 B.C.

7. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 281.

8. *Ibid*.

that the title *Bahmanī* was connected with this claim. Moreover, the historian himself quotes a genealogy tracing the descent of Ḥasan from Buhrām Gūr. In spite of this he labours to establish that Ḥasan was called Bahmanī after his Brahman master and writes :

"It should be no secret to the students of the history of the Bahmanī Sultāns that the authors of the *Tuḥfatu 's-Salāṭīn* and the *Shiḥjū 'l-Tawārīkh*, as well as the *Bahman Nāmah-i-Daknī*, which is attributed by some to Shaykh Ādharī (may God's mercy be on him), have not said one clear word about the origin or genealogy of Ḥasan Kānkūī Bahmanī. Of course, while praising him, in some places they have connected him with the kings of the Kiyānī dynasty saying, 'He put on the Kiyānī crown on his head' ; 'He ascended the throne placing his foot on the Kiyānī throne', etc. In certain places they have eulogised him linking him with Bahman and Isfandiyūr in such expressions as 'the King springing from Bahman' and 'the light of the family of Bahman' and in other terms which have a character of poetical eulogy in calling him a descendant of Isfandiyūr. Such expressions are in plenty in these two books. If it can be established that the *Bahman Nāmah* was the product of the heedless pen of Shaykh Ādharī, it is enough as a reliable evidence to prove the claim, for it is not probable that one like that savant should write anything without full investigation. The poetry of *Bahman Nāmah*, which I have sometimes quoted in this book by way of authority, does not possess the dignity of the diction of masters. Moreover, I have not come across the *takhalluṣ* (nom-de-plume) of the author in any part of the book. How to rely on the oral tradition that the poetical work is that of Ādharī ?

"Now, when these pages are being written in the town of Aḥmadnagar under the patronage of Murtaza Niẓām Shāh Bahārī, a bookler in his library dealing with the origin and genealogy of Sultān 'Alā'u 'd-Dīn Ḥasan Kānkūī—the name of the author is not found in it—came to my humble notice.

The gist of that booklet is that Sulṭān 'Alā'u 'd-Dīn Ḥasan Kānkū Bahmanī is descended from Bahrām Gūr in the following manner." Then he quotes the genealogy which I have given at the beginning of Chapter II. "But that (report) which appeals to the collector of these accounts is the one which says that Ḥasan was called Bahmanī because he made the name of Kānkū Bahman a part of his name".¹

Moreover, the following passages of Firishtah, wrong in certain particulars, clearly prove that Firishtah was at pains to discredit the founder of the Bahmanī kingdom, by saying that he was the first to appoint a Brahman to a very high office. "And fulfilling his promise, he placed the charge of the Accounts Department of the kingdom under Kānkū Bahman, who at that time had given up his service under Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughluq Shāh and gone over to the Deccan. It is well known that before this appointment the Brahmans never accepted any post or office under Muslim rulers".² It can be easily noted that the passage is self-contradictory; for in the same breath Firishtah says that Kānkū gave up the service of Sulṭān Muḥammad to take up a post under Ḥasan and holds that no Brahman served a Muslim before Kānkū was employed by Bahman Shāh.

Again Firishtah tries to cast some aspersion on the behaviour of Bahman Shāh by writing that he invited Muslim astrologers as well as Brahmans to select the time of his coronation and that he preferred the time fixed by the Brahman pandits to that considered auspicious by the great Muslim astrologers, Ṣadru 'sh-Sharīf Samarqandī and Mīr Muḥammad Munajjim Badakhshī,³ Since Firishtah repeatedly insists, in spite of his knowledge to the contrary, that Ḥasan was called Bahmanī on account of his having been a servant of a Brahman astrologer and tries to explain

1. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 274.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid, p. 177.

away previous writers who held that Ḥasan was a descendant of Bahman, son of Isfandiyār, could there be some motive on the part of Firishtah to attribute a low beginning to the founder of the Bahmanī kingdom and to establish that the epithets *Bahmanī* and *Kānkūī* related to a non-Muslim of India under whom the historian labours to establish, the Sunnī hero was a servant? I believe there was some motive.

Firishtah was in the service of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II of Bijāpūr (1580-1627), and it was under his patronage that he wrote his famous history.¹ The 'Ādil Shāhī dynasty of Bijāpūr was founded by a Shī'ah Governor of the Sunnī Sulṭān of the Bahmanī kingdom, who revolted against his sovereign. There might have been wide spread hatred among the bulk of the Muslim population of the Deccan, which was Sunnī by sect, against the Shī'ah usurper², who had deprived the Sunnī monarch of a large portion of his territory in the year 1490. Moreover, the Bahmanī dynasty, by championing the cause of Islam in the South had acquired great prestige in that region, and even after the loss of effective political power, the reverence for it continued. The founder of the dynasty was venerated for his service to Islam, for his Sunnī faith and for his descent from the King of Persia. Hence it was in the interest of the rulers of Bijāpūr to wean away the sympathy of the mass of the Muslim population, especially at a time when Ibrāhīm was scheming to annex Bīdar, the seat of the later Bahmanī Sulṭāns.³ Firishtah, who was a Shī'ah⁴ servant of the Bijāpūr King, might have considered it his duty, both religious and secular, to lessen the local regard for the Bahmanī dynasty by connecting the epithet *Bahmanī* with an Indian Brahman, and not with Bahman, son of Isfandiyār, and by ascribing a low beginning to the career of Ḥasan.

1. Briggs, Vol. I, p. XLIII,

2. Ibid.

3. Bīdar was annexed by Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh, the patron of Firishtah, in the year 1619 A. D.

4. Briggs, page XL.

There is ground to suspect that Firishtah concocted a story which has absolutely no truth behind it and which is not borne out by any other testimony worth the name.

Could this word, Bahman, have referred to the Indian sect? Again to quote Sir Wolseley Haig, "It is conceivable that a Muhammadan king might have distinguished himself, from gratitude to a Brahman benefactor, by the epithet *Bahmanī*, even though that epithet is never found in its uncorrupted form *Brahmanī*, but no Muhammadan king would have styled himself "King Brahman". The derivation of the title *Bahman Shāh* must, therefore, be sought in Hasan's claim to descend from the Sāsānids..... We are not concerned, however, with the genuineness of Hasan's claim for this is a question which cannot now be decided. It is certain that he put forward the claim and that his title *Bahman Shāh* was an embodiment of its assertion".¹

Further, it should be noted that "A Brahman is sometimes called 'Bamman' in the Deccan, but never Bahman".² The practice of adding the epithet Brahman after the name of a man belonging to the priestly sect of the Hindus has not been in vogue in South India. We have such an instance in the North. Chandrabān, the famous author of the *Chahār Chaman* was called Chandrabān Brahman. In this case the term used was "Brahman" after the northern fashion. One more fact which militates against Firishtah's theory is the statement of the same author that the supposed master of Hasan was a resident of Dihlī. That an inhabitant of Dihlī could have corrupted the word Brahman into "Bahman" and tagged it on to his proper name and also insisted that the distorted form should be adopted by his prote'ge' as a part of the latter's Royal name does not stand to reason.

Now turning to the author of the *Burhān-i-Ma'āthir*, we see that he is quite clear on this point and writes: "According

1, J. A. S. B, 1904, Extra Number, pp. 3-4.

2. Journal of Indian History, Vol. XX, p. 96.

to a report, which the author of the '*Uyūnu 't-Tawārikh* and other historians of the Sultāns of India have adopted, and for the correctness of which there are additional proofs from the historians of the famous Sultāns, the great genealogy of this exalted ruler reaches Bahman, son of Isfandiyār, and on this account, that justice-loving king became famous as Bahmanī". The last clause in Major King's translation reads: "In consequence of his descent the King was known as "Bahman".¹

In the pedigree quoted by the author of the *Burhān-i-Ma'āthir*, Zafar Khan is named Bahman Shāh, and in the subsequent passage the author writes: "In consequence of his descent, he was known as "Bahman". Thus, at least in two vital places 'Alī bin 'Azīzullāh Ṭabāṭabā records that the Sultān was known as "Bahman".

The editor of the printed copy of the *Burhān* gives the epithet of the king as *Bahmanī*, perhaps, considering it to be the correct form, for, naturally, one who does not know the exact details will be more prone to call a descendant of Bahman by the epithet Bahmanī than by the name Bahman itself. But in the manuscript of the same book the term is written as "Bahman". It is quite possible that the descendant of a man named Zayd should take the name Zayd itself instead of calling himself Zaydī. In this case, as we shall see below, Ḥasan called himself Bahman and not Bahmanī. This fact is borne out by the pedigree quoted in the *Burhān* itself, in which Ḥasan is called Bahman Shāh.

Niẓāmu 'd-Dīn, the author of the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, who wrote before Firishtah and is decidedly more reliable, does

1. The *Burhān-i-Ma'āthir*. p. 11. King's Translation (Book), p. 1. Indian Antiquary, Vol. XXVIII, p. 141, last two lines of paragraph 4. The word BAHMANĪ (for BAHMAN) in the Persian text quoted above from the printed copy must be the error of the editor. The manuscripts consulted by Major King had the word "Bahman" in the place of Bahmanī given in the printed copy.

not at all mention the Brahman, but on the other hand, he clearly writes that Ḥasan claimed descent from Bahman, son of Isfandiyyār, and hence he and his descendants were called Bahmanīyah.¹

'Abdullāh Muḥammad ibn 'Umar al-Makkī, al-Āṣifī al-Uluḡkhānī who completed his work, *Zafarū 'l-Walīh bi Muḥaffar wa Ālih*, in 1611, writes that Ḥasan called himself Bahman Shāh.²

Rafī'u 'd-Dīn Ibrāhīm says: "Let it not be concealed from the acute, concerning the origin of the Bahmanī kings, that I have seen many relations some of which say that they derive their origin from Bahman, son of Isfandiyyār, son of Gushtāsp, one of the most magnificent Kings of Persia."³

Mawlawī 'Abdu 'l-Walī writes⁴ that it was a surprise to him to find in the '*Haft-Iqlīm*' of Amīn Aḥmad Rāzī, who wrote in 1002 A.H.⁵ more than a decade before Firishtah finished his account, the following passage under "Dakan": The first dynasty was that of the Kings of Gulbargah. The founder of it was 'Alā'u 'd-Dīn Ḥasan. As the author of the '*Uyūnu 'l-Tawārikh*' traces his pedigree to Bahman bin Isfandiyyār, so, as a matter of course, the dynasty became famous under the cognomen, Bahmanī".⁶ 'Alī bin 'Azīzillāh calls him Bahmanī (but not in all places and in all manuscripts), perhaps, without paying much thought to the other possibility or due to the non-accessibility of any pointed evidence therefor, although he has faithfully copied down the genealogy in which the Sulṭān is called Bahman Shāh.

1. *Ṭabaqāt*, (Translation), Vol. III. p. 3, foot-note and p. 4.

2. 'Abdullāh Muḥammad ibn 'Umar, p. 728, line 14.

3. The Indian Antiquary, Vol. XXVIII, p. 153 = *Tārīkh*, Vol. III, Part IX, Supplement, p. 14, second line of the body.

4. J. A. S. B. 1909, p. 463.

5. About A. D. 1593.

6. J. A. S. B., 1109. p. 463.

Badāyūnī,¹ 'Abdullāh Muḥammad and Rafī'ū 'd-Dīn Ibrāhīm², contemporaries of Firishtah, write that Ḥasan, after his accession, assumed the name of Bahman Shāh.

'Iṣāmī, the contemporary poet, gives the full name of Bahman in the following lines :

Upon that king, with handsome mien endow'd,
The title fair, 'Alā Dīn, was bestow'd.
By nature Farīdūn, Bahman by name,
His surname Abu 'l-Muẓaffar became.⁴

Major Wolseley Haig writes : "The title given by Badaoni and the author of the *Tazkiratu 'l-Mulūk* is correct. Hasan did not add to his title the epithet Bahmanī but assumed the name of Bahman. There is, in the fort of Gulbargah, a contemporary inscription, bearing the date A. H. 754 (A. D. 1353), in which his titles are given as 'Alā'ū 'd-Dunyā wa 'd-Dīn Abu 'l-Muẓaffar Bahman Shāh'. The name Kānkū or Gangū, and the epithet Bahmanī, which is used on the coins of his successors and is correctly applied to them only, are omitted. The inscription, which was cut while Bahman Shāh was still alive and reigning, and was placed over a mosque in his capital, is far better evidence of the style under which he reigned than any statements of historians. Other evidence, however, exists. I have a copper coin which bears the inscription, 'Aḥmad Shāh bin Aḥmad Shāh bin Bahman Shāh'. This inscription needs some explanation, but there is no doubt that the words, 'Bahman Shāh', refer to the founder of the Bahmanī dynasty. There is also the *Bahman-nāma*, a versified history of the Bahmanī Kings, the author of which is uncertain,¹ but which is often quoted by Firishtah. The

1. The Muntakhabu 'r-Tawārīkh, Vol. I, p. 236.

2. Zafaru 'l-Wāliḥ, p. 728.

3. The Indian Antiquary, Vol. 28, p. 155 = Ta'rīkh, Vol. III, Part IX, supplement, p. 18, line 15.

4. 'Iṣāmī, p. 544, last two lines.

1. Firishtah writes that it was attributed to Ādhari, Vol. I, p. 181.

title of this history cannot refer to the epithet *Bahmanī*, but can and evidently does refer to the name Bahman".¹

The inscription which the learned scholar has referred to in the above quoted passage was mounted on the first mosque built in the town of Gulbargah. The mosque is situated behind the fort constructed by Bahman Shāh. The inscription, now broken into four pieces, is lying in the Maḥbūb Gulshan at Gulbargah. An impression of the assembled pieces, taken by the late Mawlawī Muḥammad 'Abdu's-Salām Ṣāhib was available to me through the kindness of Dr. Muḥammad Ghawth of Hyderābād, Deccan. The photographic reproduction of the impression is given on Plate II. It reads :

This holy mosque (dedicated) to Allāh, the Elevated and Exalted, in the reign of the builder of good institutions and the summit of good fortunes, the Master of Sulṭāns, 'Alā'u'd-Dunyā wa 'd-Dīn Abu 'l-Muẓaffar Bahman Shāh (may Allāh prosper his spiritual and wordly state), the aspirant (to the Mercy) of the Great Presence,² and Sword³ of the Government of the King⁴ of the Pure,⁵ in the months of the year seven hundred and fifty-four, constructed.⁶ May it last and thrive throughout eternity for the sake of the occupant of the Bayt-i-Ma'mūr⁷ and the famous Ka'bah".

1. J. A. S. B., 1004, Extra, pp. 2-3.

2. Refers to God.

3. Sayf appears to be the chief part of the name of the builder of the mosque.

4. The form of the writing of Dawlat Shāh suggests that the builder was called so. Dāwlat Shāh was the Shahnah-i-Bārgāh under Bahman Shāh and was probably in charge of construction works. See the Burhān p. 16. line 12.

5. Usually refers to the Prophet Muḥammad.

6. The chief part of the principal clause of the sentence is, "This holy mosque the Sword (Sayf) constructed".

7. The term is used in the Qur'ān, Chapter LII, verse 4. Usually it refers to a temple which is believed to be exactly above the Ka'bah in the fourth heaven for the use of angels; Al-Bayḍawī, *Anwār 't-Tanzīl*, (Nawal Kishore, Lucknow, 1282 A. H.), Vol. II, p. 326; An-Nasafī, *Madārik 't-Tanzīl* (Egypt, 1306 A. H.) Vol. II, p. 378. Both al-Baytu 'l-Ma'mūr and the Ka'bah are considered to be the houses of God and their occupants (worshippers therein) are the angels and men respectively.

PLATE No. I

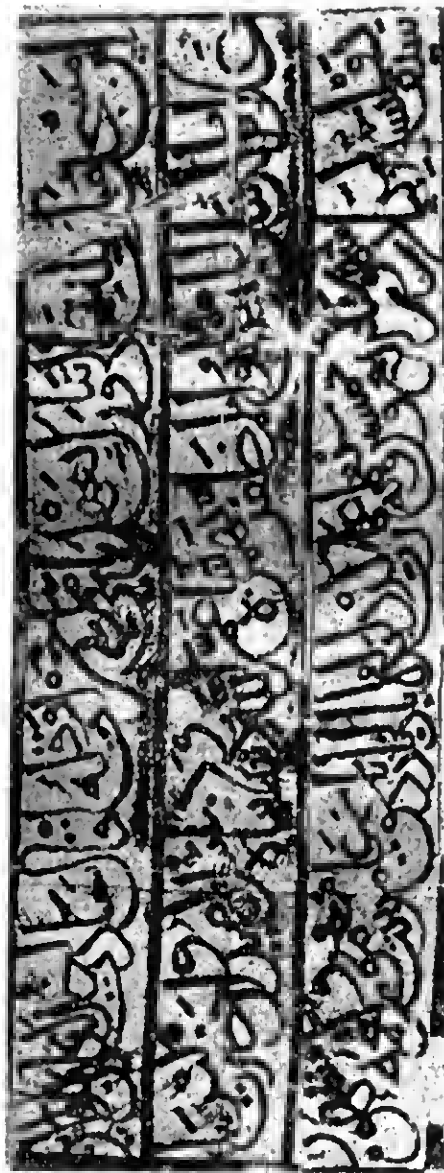
COIN OF NĀṢIRU 'D-DĪN ISMĀ'ĪL (MUKH)



Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1895,
Plate V, Figure 36.

For further details about the coin reproduced on this plate
please see Appendix 'A'.

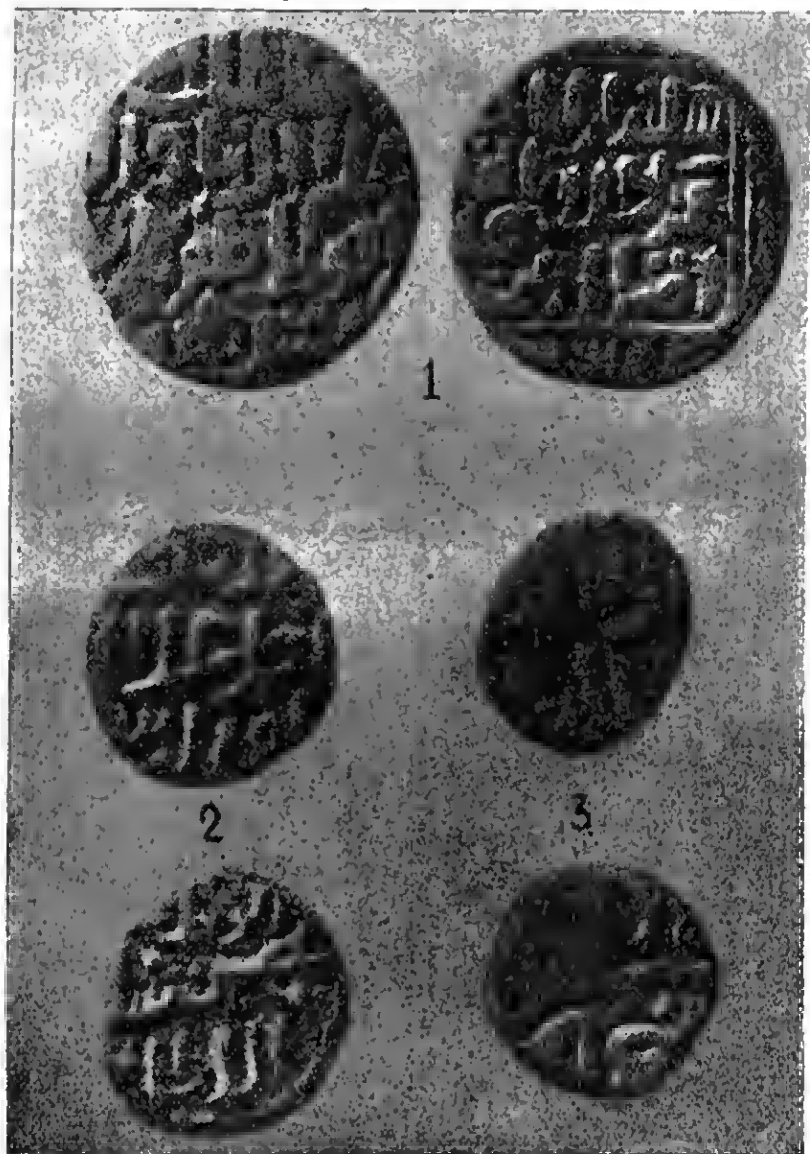
PLATE No. II.



Contemporary Inscription dated 754 A. H. mounted on the Mosque at Gulbargah (see page 46).

PLATE III.

COINS OF BAHMAN SHĀH



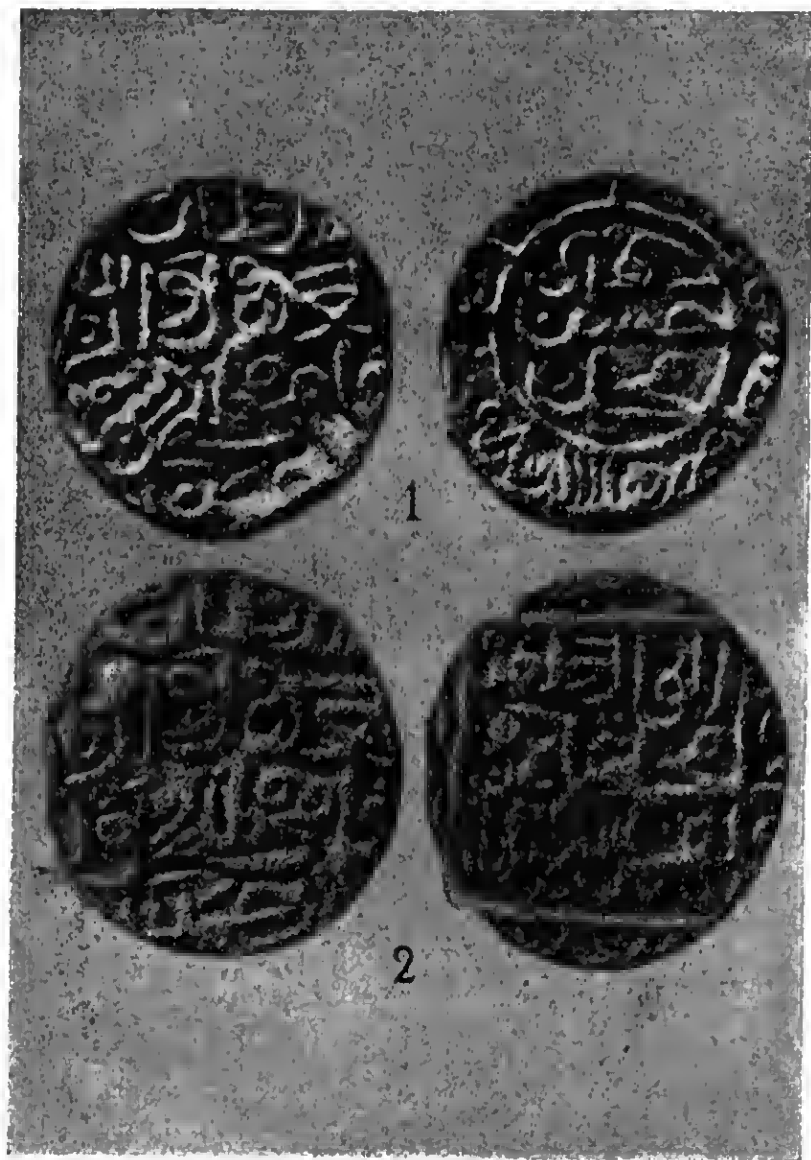
No. 1. Numismatic Chronicle, 1881, p. 111, Plate V, figure 1.

Nos. 2 & 3. Ibid, 1898, p. 263, Plate XVII, Figs. 2 and 4.

For further details about the coins reproduced on this plate,
please see Appendix 'A'.

PLATE IV.

COINS OF MUHAMMAD SHĀH, SON OF BAHMAN SHĀH.



1. Numismatic Chronicle, 1885, Plate XII, Fig. 24.
2. Numismatic Chronicle, 1881, Plate V, Fig. 4.

For further details about the coins reproduced on this plate
please see 'Appendix 'A'.

After Sir Wolseley Haig wrote the above quoted passage in 1904, details about a large number of Bahmanī coins were published by M. H. Whittell in 1923.¹ Two types of silver coins issued by Bahman Shāh have been recovered. They bear dates varying from 757 to 760 A. H. The legend on the obverse of the first type reads :

The Great Sultān
'Alā'u 'd-Dunyā wa 'd-Dīn
Abu 'l-Muẓaffar Bahman Sbāh
The Sultān.

On the reverse, in a square inscribed in a circle, top and right side of the square consisting of two lines, lower side a single line and left side missing, with three dots in the top and right segments and date in lower segment, we have :

Alexander the Second
Right hand of the Caliphate, Helper
of the Commander of the Faithful.

In the margin we have (*at the capital, Āḥsanābād*). This type weighs 170 Grs.² In the second type of the silver coins, the obverse bears :

The Very Great
Sultān, 'Alā'u 'd-
Dunyā wa 'd-Dīn

and on the reverse we find,

Abu 'l-Muẓaffar
Bahman Shāh,
the Sultān

This type was issued in two different weights of 20 Grs. and 15 Grs.³

Besides these silver coins some copper ones have been recovered in two different weights—27 Grs. and 15 Grs. On the obverse they have :

'Alā'u 'd-Dunyā
wa 'd-Dīn

1. J. A. S. B., 1923, Numismatic Supplement, pp. 22-39.

2. Numismatic Chronicle, 1881, p. 111, plate V, Fig. I ; my plate III, Fig. I.

3. Ibid, 1898, p. 263, Plate . VII, F. 2 ; my Plate III, Fig. 2.

and on the reverse :

Shāh
Bahman
The Sultān¹

I desire to make it clear that no effort is being made here to establish that Ḥasan descended from Bahman "for this is a question which cannot now be decided".² Nor could it have been decided even in the days of Ḥasan. But I have endeavoured to establish that Ḥasan claimed to be a descendant of the famous Persian King.

Ḥasan chose to call himself Bahman and not Bahmanī. From his claim to have descended from Bahman, son of Isfandiyār, he could have as well called himself Bahmanī. As 'Iṣāmī correctly puts it, he was Bahman as well as Bahmanī.

One man was equal to two hundred men ;
For he was Bahmanī as well as Bahman.³

His descendants, starting from his son and successor, Muḥammad Shāh, called themselves Bahmanī in the sense that they were the heirs of Ḥasan Bahman Shāh and also the progeny of Bahman, son of Isfandiyār. One of Muḥammad's gold coins, struck in the year 763 A. H. at Aḥsanābād bears on the obverse :

The Sultān of
The Period and the Time,
The Protector of the
Religion of the Messenger
of the Most Merciful.

and on the reverse it has :

Bahmanī
Ḥasan
Muḥammad (son of)⁴

Reading from below, he calls himself Muḥammad, son of Ḥasan, and assumes the cognomen, Bahmanī. In silver coins

1. Numismatic Chronicle, 1898, p. 263, Plate XVII, Fig. 4 ; my Plate III, Fig. 3.
2. J. A. S. B., 1904, Extra Number, p. 4.
3. 'Iṣāmī, p. 9, line 10.
4. Numismatic Chronicle, 1885, Plate XII, Fig. 24 ; my plate IV, Fig. 1.

struck at Aḥsanābād and bearing different dates, the obverse bears the same legend as in the case of the gold coin mentioned above. The reverse has in a square within a circle :

Abu 'l-Muzaffar
Muḥammad Shāh, son of
Bahman Shāh, the Sultān.¹

To sum up, the following facts militate against accepting Firishtah's account :—

1. Firishtah, who wrote more than 250 years after Ḥasan's death, is all alone in reporting the story. No contemporary evidence—literary, inscriptional or numismatic—hears him out, nor is his version corroborated by any writer who wrote before him.

2. It is improbable that Zafar Khān 'Alā'ī's family should have sunk so low within a brief period of about two decades as to force his nephew to become a domestic servant of a non-Muslim.

3. Firishtah himself quotes a speech in which Nāṣiru 'd-Dīn says that Ḥasan was a descendant of Bahman, son of Isfandi-yār.

4. The same author has quoted a genealogy which links up Ḥasan with Bahman, the ruler of Persia.

5. Firishtah is at pains to refute the theory prevalent during his days that Ḥasan was descended from Bahman and to explain away the writings of earlier historians some of whom were the contemporaries of Ḥasan, thereby making himself liable to the charge of interestedness.

6. Firishtah who was a Shī'ah appears to have been not favourably disposed towards the founder of the Sunnī dynasty.

7. He was in the service of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II of Bijāpūr whose ancestor, Yūsuf 'Ādil Shāh, had revolted against the Bahmanī King and established a separate kingdom.

8. Firishtah's patron, Ibrāhīm, had designs against Bīdar (the capital of the later Bahmanī Sultāns), which he put into

1. Numismatic Chronicle, 1881, Plate V, Fig. 4 ; my Plate IV, Fig. 2.

execution a few years after Firishtah completed his work.

9. Firishtah betrays his political and sectarian motives through casting aspersions on Bahman by saying that he preferred Hindu astrologers to Muslim experts. The act, if true, is not by itself derogatory to a monarch; the majority of whose subjects professed the Hindu religion. But it becomes an improper act coming, as it does, from the mouth of Firishtah, a Hindu hater.

10. Further, in a self-contradictory statement he says that he was the first Muslim ruler to employ a Brahman, namely, Kānkū, who had given up the service of Muḥammad Tughluq, to serve Ḥasan.

11. The word used to denote a person belonging to the priestly class among the Hindus is Brahman in the North and Bamman in the Deccan and not Bahman. Besides, both Ḥasan and Kānkū (according to Firishtah) having been citizens of Dillī, neither could have corrupted the word Brahman into Bahman.

12. There is very little possibility of the word Brahman being confused with the word Bahmao, for, as Dr. Qānūngo rightly points out, "the Deccan was the home of Irānian emigrants" and the name Bahman is one which a Muslim, particularly an Irānī, picks up from nursery tables.¹

13. Niẓāmu 'd-Dīn, Amīn Aḥmad Rāzī, 'Abdullāh Muḥammad and 'Alī bin 'Azīzillāh, all of whom wrote about the time of Firishtah, state that the word Bahmanī was related to the name of Bahman, son of Isfandiyār.

14. Badāyūnī, a senior contemporary of Firishtah, Abdullāh Muḥammad and Rafī'u 'd-Dīn Ibrāhīm, who wrote during the period A. H. 1017-20 (A. D. 1608-1611), when Firishtah was still in the Deccan, give the regnal name of

1. The passage from his article in the *Dacca University Studies*, Vol. I, No. II (April, 1936, p. 139), is quoted in the next chapter.

Hasan as Bahman Shāh and do not call him Bahmanī. Firishtah himself records that earlier writers like the authors of the *Tuhfatu 's-Salāṭīn* and the *Sirāju 't Tawārikh* have connected him with the kings of the Kiyānī dynasty although he tries to explain away their passages as terms of praise

15. The title of a poetical work (*Bahman Nāmah*) dealing with the history of the Bahmanī dynasty, begun during the reign of Ahmad Walī Bahmanī (1422-1456 A. D.), bears evidence to the fact that the founder of the kingdom was named Bahman.

16. Contemporary writing by 'Iṣāmī, the court-poet of Hasan, records the full name of Hasan as Abu 'l-Muẓaffar 'Alā'u 'd-Dīn Bahman Shāh and states that he was a descendant of Bahman, son of Isfandiyār.

17. The contemporary inscription, cut and placed on the first-built mosque of his capital, gives Hasan's full regnal name as Abu 'l-Muẓaffar 'Alā'u 'd-Dīn Bahman Shāh.

18. Several coins of Hasan also bear the full name given above.

19. Now that it is definitely established that Hasan called himself Babman and not Bahmanī, it will be unreasonable to contend that a Muslim called himself a Brahman after his supposed master, who is said to have belonged to the Brahman community.

20. Of course, Hasan's descendants called themselves Bahmanī, as evidenced by their coins, after their progenitor, 'Alā'u 'd-Dīn Bahman Shāh, and incidentally, after Bahman, son of Isfandiyār, their remote ancestor.

For the above reasons I hold that the story given by Firishtah that Hasan, on his accession, assumed the name Bahman Shāh and that his successors called themselves Bahmanī after him was wrong and was concocted by him with possible religious and political motives.

In an article written in the Dacca University Studies¹ under the title, "The Origin of the Bahmani Sultans", Dr. Qānūngo holds, "Hasan's descent from Bahman was invented, either with or without any countenance of the later Bahmanis, by some Muslim historians whose pride revolted against the idea that the founder of the most glorious dynasty in the South could have been the slave of a Brahman".² Evidently the *Futūḥu 's-Salāṭīn* was not available to Dr. Qānūngo. If he had given a reading to that contemporary work written by a scholar, he would not have committed the error. The learned scholar has read the article written by Sir Wolseley Haig in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1904, Extra Number, to which he has referred.³ Yet it is surprising that he has overlooked the contemporary inscriptional evidence (quoted by Sir W. Haig) which cuts at the root of his contention—the inscription at Gulbargah bearing the date A.H. 754 (A.D. 1353), cut and placed over a mosque in the capital of the Sulṭān while he was still alive—and also the evidence of a coin,⁴ which Sir W. Haig has quoted in the same article and bears testimony to the fact that Hasan called himself Bahman Shāh. Further, his failure to consult the transcriptions of a large number of Bahmanī coins including some of Bahman Shāh, seems to be responsible for the mistake.

1. The Dacca University Studies, Vol. I, No. 11 (April, 1936), pp. 135-144.

2. Ibid, p. 140.

3. Ibid, p. 127, foot-note.

4. J. A. S. B., 1904, Extra Number, pp. 2-3.

CHAPTER IV THE EPITHET, GANGŪĪ

As for the other part of Ḥasan's name, GangūĪ¹ or KānkūĪ,² several explanations have been offered, and I am going to add one more to them. According to Mawlawī 'Abdu 'l-Walī, the term is a distortion of the name Kaikāūs.³ Professor Shērwanī explains the term in two different ways—that the word Gangū may be a corruption of the epithet "Gungū"⁴ (dumb), or that it may be the distortion of the name Kākūyah.⁵ Dr. Qānūngo thinks that Ḥasan "was either a Hindu convert himself or the descendant of a Hindu convert, belonging to the *Gango subdivision of the Arain*, commonly known as the *Rain Tribe of the Punjab*".⁶ Again we have the most popular story spread by Firishtah that Ḥasan called himself KānkūĪ after his Brahman master, Kānkū Bahman.⁷ I think that the word should be read as Gangawī, being a noun of relationship formed from the word Gangī, a suburb of Miraj⁸ with which Ḥasan's early life in the Deccan seems to have been closely connected.⁹

Let me deal with the explanation offered by Mawlawī 'Abdu 'l-Walī who asks: "Is it the Dakhnī corruption for Kaikāūs, the name of the King's father?"¹⁰ He suggests that the king could have been called Ḥasan Kaikāūs just like Bahman Isfandiyār which would mean Ḥasan son of Kaikāūs. According to him, if the letter Sīn of Kaikāūs is left out, "the word may give rise to the following variants: Kaikāū, Kankāū, Kankū, Gangū, etc."¹¹

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1. The Burhān, p. 11.
 2. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 273.
 3. Journal and Proceedings, A. S. B. Vol. V, p. 463.
 4. Journal of Indian History, Vol. XX (1941), Parts I to III, p. 98.
 5. Ibid.
 6. The Dacca University Studies, Vol. I, No. II, (1936), p. 144.
 7. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 273.
 8. The Indian Antiquary, Vol. XXVIII, p. 154.
 9. Ibid.
 10. Journal and Proceedings, A. S. B., Vol. V, (1909). p. 463.
 11. Ibid.

This explanation stands to reason and has been approved by a scholar like Sir Wolseley Haig.¹ But the difficulty comes in when we consider, how it happened that we do not come across a single manuscript with the *Sin*. Moreover, I see no reason to suspect that the Dakhnī dialect would have dropped the final *Sin* and substituted a *Nūn* for the *yā'* between the two *Kāf* s. The sound is found in all the local languages. Further if it was his father's name and as such formed an integral part of his name, it should have found a place in the contemporary inscription which was placed over the mosque in his capital or in some of his coins just as his son, Muḥammad Shāh, has called himself Muḥammad Ḥasan (Muḥammad son of Ḥasan) in one of his coins.²

Besides, we have the writings of two contemporary writers with us—the *Futūḥ* 's-Salāṭin of 'Iṣāmī and the *Tarikh-i-Firūz Shāhī* of Baranī. 'Iṣāmī, who wrote under the direct orders of the Sulṭān could not have omitted the epithet *Kaikāūs*, if it formed a part and parcel of the name of the monarch. Baranī, who was in the Deccan at the time of Ḥasan's revolt calls him Ḥasan Kānkū³ and it is highly improbable that even Baranī should have corrupted the name *Kaikāūs* into *Kānkū*. Dr. Qānūngo is quite right when he writes "From the time of Zia'u'd-Din Barani down to our own time Gangu or Kangu has thus been found corrupted once and once only and that too in a single Ms. Even in this case, Sir W. Haig's authority, namely, Maulavi 'Abdu'l-Wali is not certain about the reading of the word *Kakuya*. The Maulavi only suggests whether this is a Dakhni corruption for *Kaikaus*, the name of the king's father. We say it is not (a corruption) because the Deccan was the home of Iranian emigrants and no Persian History of the Deccan from the *Burhan-i-Ma'athir* to the *Basatin-i-Salatin* ever commits such a mistake, or uses *Kakuya* for *Kaikaus*, a name which

1. Cambridge History of India, Vol. III, p. 373.

2. J. A. S. B., 1923, Numismatic Supplement, p. 24 (at the end of the volume).

3. Baranī, p. 520.

a Muslim, particularly an Irani, picks up from nursery tables".¹ On the whole I am convinced that Mawlawi 'Abdu 'l-Wallī's explanation is not enough and that we have to find some other explanation for the term.

Professor Shērwanī explains the term in two different ways, viz., that Gangū is, perhaps, a corruption of gungū, meaning dumb,² and that the word may be Kākūyah³ as found in a Ms. of the *Haft-Iqlīm*.⁴ (D/347 A. S. B.). Let us examine these two explanations one after the other.

Regarding the former explanation, the learned Professor writes: "As we learn from the contemporary 'Iṣāmī, 'Alī Shāh's sobriquet was Natthū, a very ordinary nickname of male children who might have had their nose pierced through some superstition. The next boy's name was Gangū, possibly a corruption of gungū, meaning dumb, perhaps alluding to the infantile dumbness of the child, Ḥasan. This allusion to the weakness was no doubt responsible for the fact that it does not occur in 'Iṣāmī's work, the *Futūḥ* 's-Salāṭīn, which is otherwise replete with the names of Hindu and Muslim friends and foes of the new king".⁵

This inference of Professor Shērwanī has at least two flaws. Firstly, the king's defect (dumbness) is purely a supposition for which there is no documentary or literary basis at all. Secondly, that the word Gangū is akin to the term, gungū, is the only basis, and again we have to depend on a process of corruption. Therefore, the explanation that Gangū is a corruption of gungū, I fear, is not satisfactory.

Now turning to the term, Kākūyah, the following is Professor Shērwanī's interpretation: "It remains now to

1. The Dacca University Studies, Vol. 1, No. 11. (April 1936), p. 139.

2. Journal of Indian History, Vol. XX, p. 98.

3. Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1909, p. 463.

4. Ibid.

5. Journal of Indian History, Vol. XX, Parts I to III, p. 98.

explain the significance of the mysterious Kākūya which Moulavi 'Abdu 'l-Walī¹ considers to be a corruption of the word Kaikāūs, while Messrs. Oturkar and Khare think it to be a form of Gangū. As a matter of fact, the Kākūyids were the rulers of Iṣfahān and Hamadān from 385/1007 to 433/1051. The dynasty took its name from Kākūya which, in the Dailamite dialect, means a maternal uncle, as its founder, Muḥammad was called Ibn-i-Kākūya, as he was the son of Dushman-zīār Rustam, the maternal uncle of Majdu 'd-Dawlah the Buyid². We have already traced the home of the first Bahmanī up to Afghānistān, and it is just possible that there was a tradition of the family being Kākūyid, which migrated from Central Asia as so many families were doing about that time. There is another interesting point. We know that the Kākūyids placed their state under the vassalage of the Gaznavid Sulṭān Maḥmūd,³ and it is not a mere coincidence that the first Bahmanī entitles himself in his coins as Yamīnu 'l-Khillāfah, a title which comes very close to Maḥmūd's title Yamīnu 'd-Dawlah. The courtiers must have known of this Persian origin of Ḥasan's ancestors and it was not entirely off the mark for them to connect him with even an earlier Persian dynasty of Bahman and Isfandiyār".⁴

There are several difficulties in accepting the position taken by the learned scholar. Firstly, the term occurs in a single manuscript of a work which, as a book of history, is not of much value. Secondly, the work is not a contemporary one and the Ms. is of a much later date. If Ḥasan claimed descent from the Kākūyah family, there is no reason why 'Iṣāmī, his contemporary historian, who wrote under his orders, should omit the fact and another contemporary, Barani, should call him Kānkū. We can safely assume that the term, Kākūyah, was not strange or "mysterious" either to 'Iṣāmī or Baranī.

1. Journal and Proceedings of A. S. B., Vol. V(1609), p. 463.

2. Encyclopaedia of Islam, Vol. II, p. 667, article by Huart.

3. Ibid.

4. Journal of Indian History, Vol. XX, Parts I to III, p. 98.

Thirdly, the term is absent from inscriptions and coins. If it was an important term connecting the family with a former ruling dynasty of Central Asia, there is no reason why Hasan should have omitted it from his coins and inscriptions. Fourthly, to connect the title of Yamīnu 'l-Khilāfah, assumed by Hasan, with the title of Yamīnu 'd-Dawlah, which had been adopted by Maḥmūd of Ghaznah, through the Kākūyid link is straining the point too far. The Kākūyids were the vassals of Sulṭān Maḥmūd. No proud monarch would celebrate or choose to revive the memory of the vassalage of his ancestors to another Prince. Moreover, as I have already pointed out in Chapter II, Hasan adopted all the titles of 'Alā'u 'd-Dīn Khaljī and 'Yamīnu 'l-Khilāfah' was one of the titles of that monarch as they appear on his coins.¹

Coming to Dr. Qānūngo's opinion, he contends, "Yahya Sirhindi, the author of *Tarikh-i-Mubarakshahi*, in his account of the conspiracy for the murder of Sayyid Mubarak Shah, his patron and contemporary, says, 'some villainous infidels, such as, the sons of Kangu and Kajo Khatri...made deliberations together²...Sadharan Kangu stood with his party outside the door to prevent any outside relief'.³

"It is a common fact that many of the Hindu tribes of the Punjab tenaciously cling to their tribal surnames even centuries after their conversion to Islam.... So it is not unreasonable to infer that the Kangu or Gangu was a Hindu tribe or caste of the Punjab, a portion of which had accepted Islam. Hasan, the founder of the so-called Bahmani dynasty, and Sadharan, the murderer of Sayyid Mubarak Shah, belonged originally to the same stock. ...

"... There is a Jat clan, Gangha, in the Multan district and also an Arain clan, Gango, in the Montgomery district.⁴

1. Numismatic Chronicle, 1885, p. 219, Plate XI, fig. 8.

2. *Ta'rikh-i-Mubarakshahi*, p. 139.

3. *Ibid*, p. 141.

4. *Rose's Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and North-Western Frontier Province*, Vol. II. p. 278.

Hasan perhaps belonged to one of these clans, more probably to Gango clan of the Arains, who are now, almost to a man, Muhammadans and strongly inclined to orthodoxy".¹

"...We hold that Hasan Gangu, the founder of the so-called Bahmani dynasty, like the founders of several independent Muslim dynasties in the last quarter of the fourteenth century, was either a Hindu convert himself, or the descendant of a Hindu convert, belonging to the Gango sub-division of the Arain, commonly known as the Rain tribe of the Punjab".²

Dr. Qānūngo's line of argument appears to be sound; but the assumption that Hasan or some ancestor of his might have been a convert to Islam is not backed by any evidence. According to Firishtah, he was the nephew of Zafar Khān, the great general of 'Alā'u 'd-Dīn³ and a brother of 'Alī Shāh.⁴ The author of the *Tadhkiratu 'l-Mulūk* writes that he spent his youth with his mother in the vicinity of Miraj and that both the mother and the youthful son constantly visited Shaykh Muḥammad Sirāj Junaydī.⁵

It is true that there have been cases in which new converts to Islam have carved out kingdoms in India. But Hasan's case is one in which the old Muslim officers had the option of choosing him or some one else; and the proud foreign Muslims would not have normally chosen a new convert or his offspring. Further, the marriage of Bahman Shāh's son with the daughter of Qāḍī (Malik) Sayfu 'd-Dīn Ghūrī⁶ is another fact to be taken into consideration. No proud old Muslim of Malik Sayfu 'd-Dīn's standing would have consented to give his daughter to a new convert's son or

1. Rose's Glossary, Vol. II, p. 13.

2. Dr. Qānūngo's article, *Origin of the Bahmani Sultans*, The Dacca University Studies, Vol. I, No. 11 (April, 1936), pp. 142-44.

3. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 138.

4. Ibid.

5. Indian Antiquary, Vol. XXVIII, p. 154.

6. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 278.

descendant. Bahrām Khān Māzandarānī¹ was the sister's son of Bahmān.² This establishes the fact that long before Ḥasan became the Sultān, his family had matrimonial relationship with Muslim families of Central Asia.

Moreover, there are so many tribes and their sub-divisions in India that any personal name can be easily associated with one of them. That the name Kankū or Gangu is symphonious with the name of one of the obscure sub-divisions of a tribe in the Punjāb is not enough to ignore powerful and authentic contemporary evidence and declare that Ḥasan belonged to that tribe. Besides, Dr. Qānūngo's contention runs counter to the genealogy of Ḥasan leading to Bahrām Gūr which has been passed on to us by Firishtah³ and the *Burhān-i-Ma'āthir*.⁴

Further, most of the authors write the name with an yā' of relation as Kānkawī, Kankawī, Gāngawī, Gangawī etc. But none of the illustrations⁵ of the retention of the tribal epithets by the Hindu converts of the Punjāb given by Dr. Qānūngo possess the yā' of relation.

For the reasons given above, the contention of Dr. Qānūngo that Ḥasan was a Hindu convert or the descendant of a Hindu convert belonging to the Punjābī clan known as the Gango is untenable. There is overwhelming evidence to prove that he claimed to be a descendant of Bahman, son of Isfandiyār, as witnessed by contemporary evidence and the testimony of later writers.

Now, let us examine the most popularly accepted explanation of the term—the one given by Firishtah. According to

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1. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 293.
 2. The *Burhān*, p. 29, line 13.
 3. Firishtah, Vol. I, pp. 281-82.
 4. The *Burhān*, pp. 11-12; The *Indian Antiquary* Vol. XXVIII, p. 141.
 5. Shāhbāz Khān Kambo, Muḥammad Sāliḥ Kambo, Kamāl Khān Ghakkar, Qiyās Khān Kango etc. The *Dacca University Studies*, Vol. I, No. 11 (April, 1936), p. 143.

him Ḥasan, in his early days, lived in Dihlī and served Kānkū Bahman. On Ḥasan giving proof of his trustworthiness, the Brahman, who was the Court astrologer, recommended him for a *manṣab* to Sulṭān Ghiyāthū 'd-Dīn Tughluq, and after casting his horoscope, predicted kingship for him. Then he made Ḥasan promise that, in the event of his prediction proving true, he would assume his name as a part of his royal title. The historian proceeds to record that Ḥasan adopted the name Kānkū before he established a kingdom and continued it as a part of his official name even after his accession.¹ Firishtah is all alone in giving this version and no other evidence, contemporary or subsequent, supports it.

The term is written in different ways in different works. Khāfī Khān gives the form *Gangawī*² instead of Kānkū³ found in the printed text of Firishtah's work. The author of the *Burhān-i-Ma'āthir* uses the epithet as *Gangawī*,⁴ but does not give any explanation of it. Baranī calls the Sulṭān Ḥasan Kānkū.⁵ Badāyūnī adopts the form Kānkū in one passage⁶ and Kāngū in others.⁷ Badāyūnī's knowledge of this Sulṭān seems to have been very meagre, for he confuses him with Jalālu 'd-Dīn Aḥsan Shāh, the first independent Sulṭān of Madura, whom he calls Sayyid Ḥasan Kaithalī.⁸

According to Firishtah, Ḥasan called himself Kānkū because he had not only been in the service of a Brahman by name Kānkū but also because he owed his *manṣab* to his recommendation to Prince Muḥammad Tughluq. Further, it was the same Kānkū who foretold that Ḥasan would become a king.

1. Firishtah, Vol. I, pp. 273-74.

2. The Muntakhabu 'l-Luhāh, Part III, Fasc. I, p. 8.

3. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 273.

4. The Burhān, p. 11.

5. Baranī, p. 420.

6. Muntakhabu 't-Tawārīkh, Vol. I, p. 232.

7. Ibid, pp. 231, 232, 236 and 245,

8. Ibid, p. 231.

There are at least half a dozen arguments against accepting Firishtah's explanation of the term *Kānkūl*. Firstly, according to Firishtah's own version,¹ Ḥasan came of a very eminent family which had reached the peak of glory towards the close of the 13th century. It is highly improbable that within a quarter of a century the great hero Zafar Khān 'Alā'ī's family should have sunk so low as to make a nephew of his a servant of a Brahman astrologer. Secondly, Firishtah's account says that Ḥasan was called *Kānkawī Bahmanī* after the Brahman. We have found that Ḥasan never called himself *Bahmanī* and that Firishtah's account in that respect was absolutely baseless and even liable to be suspected as deliberate concoction. Hence it is quite probable that Firishtah's inference that Ḥasan was called *Kānkawī* after a Brahman named *Kānkū* should also share the same fate. Thirdly, if Ḥasan adopted the name, *Kānkawī*, as a part of a contract which explicitly laid down that Ḥasan should combine the Brahman's name with his own, Ḥasan would not have dropped it from his coins and inscriptions especially after putting the Brahman (according to Firishtah)² in charge of his treasury. Fourthly, if the Sulṭān had adopted the epithet as a part of his royal title, 'Iṣāmī would have given it. Fifthly, the contract, according to Firishtah, was that the name of the astrologer should be adopted after³ Ḥasan attained kingship. But according to Firishtah himself, Ḥasan adopted the title even before⁴ he rose to power. Ḥasan is called *Kānkūl* in the speech of Ismā'īl Mukh, as reported by Firishtah⁵ even before his election as the Sulṭān of the Deccan. Sixthly, we have already observed⁶ that Firishtah, who was a Shī'ah and was in the service of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II of Bijāpūr, was interested in injuring the prestige of the founder of the Bahmanī dynasty. It was in pursuance of

1. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 138.

2. Ibid, p. 274, line 8.

3. Ibid, p. 277, line 3.

4. See previous Chapter.

5. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 277.

6. See p. 51.

this motive that he called him *Bahmanī* and stated that he was so called after a Brahman astrologer under whom he was a servant. Probably, the same motive made him write that the term *Kānkūl* was connected with the name of the Brahman. For the above reasons *Firishtah's* explanation cannot be accepted. We have to seek elsewhere for a satisfactory explanation of the term *Gangawī*.

The *Tadhkiratu 'l-Mulūk* gives some relevant material bearing on this epithet. According to it, Ḥasan in his "youth"¹ lived at Gangī², a suburb of Miraj, which later, that is, at the time when the author was writing (1608-1609) was known as Murtazābād.³ There he used to visit Shaykh Muḥammad Sirāj Junaydī and pass most of his time in his cell.⁴ Sometimes Ḥasan's mother accompanied him and even represented to him some of her difficulties.⁵ The above details are quite significant.

I think that Ḥasan was called *Gangawī* after the name of the township, Gangī. It is nothing other than the noun of relationship formed from the word Gangī, Ḥasan's place of residence during his early days in the Deccan. A noun of relationship formed from Gangī becomes *Gangawī* and fortunately the most important texts, those of *Firishtah*,⁶ Khāfī Khān⁷ and All bin 'Azīzillāh Ṭabāṭabā', have retained the *yā'*. The later confusion seems to have arisen chiefly due to the false story concocted by *Firishtah*. It is a well known fact that foreigners who came to India and settled at different places particularised even with reference to the names of the towns in which they settle like Dihlawī, Multānī, Bijāpūrī, Balāramī etc.

Now what are the connections between Ḥasan and the village of Gangī? Are they intimate enough to warrant that.

1. Indian Antiquary, Vol. XXVIII, p. 153.
2. Ibid, p. 154.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
6. *Firishtah*, Vol. I, p. 273.
7. The Muntakhabu 'l-Lubāb, Part III, Fasc. I. p. 8.

Hasan should have been called Gangawī after it? Firstly, as we have already seen, the *Tadhkiratu 'l-Mulūk* clearly states that Hasan and his widowed mother were living in the village of Gangī.¹ Secondly, from 'Iṣāmī we learn that Hasan's mother was still living in Miraj,² of which Gangī was a dependency, when he fled southwards after the forces of Ismā'īl Mukh had been defeated by Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughluq at Dawlatābād. Thirdly, the *Burhān-i-Ma'āthir* says that Hasan's original *jāgīr* comprised Hukayrī Balgāon and Miraj.³ Fourthly, 'Iṣāmī and 'Alī bin 'Azīzillāh agree that Miraj was given as a *jāgīr* to Hasan's eldest son and heir-apparent, Muḥammad,⁴ and that even during the early part of his rule, when the kingdom was not yet established on a firm basis, and when there were internal revolts and the danger of external attacks or a serious attempt by Muḥammad bin Tughluq to regain his lost territory in the South, Hasan took rest at Miraj for two months at a stretch spending the days with his family.⁵ These facts established a clear relation between Hasan and the village of Gangī.

Rafī'u 'd-Dīn Ibrāhīm does not say that Hasan was called Gangawī after the place named Gangī, denying the contention of Firishtah or anticipating Dr. Qānūngo. He simply narrates that Hasan lived at Gangī in the company of his widowed mother. But when he writes that Hasan lived at Gangī, a dependency of Miraj, he is borne out by other testimony. 'Iṣāmī, a contemporary authority, states that he and his mother resided at Miraj,⁶ and the *Burhān* records that his original *jāgīr* comprised Hukayrī, Balgāon and Miraj.⁷ Thus, Rafī'u 'd-Dīn Ibrāhīm's statement that Hasan spent his early days in Gangī is not a solitary report but one borne out by

1. The Indian Antiquary, Vol. XXVIII, p. 154.

2. 'Iṣāmī, p. 541.

3. The Burhān, p. 29.

4. 'Iṣāmī, p. 594, line 7: the Burhān, p. 29, lines 11 and 12.

5. 'Iṣāmī, p. 596, line 16: the Burhān, p. 24, lines 25-27.

6. 'Iṣāmī, p. 541.

7. The Burhān, p. 29.

contemporary and subsequent evidence. One contemporary and another later writer give the name of the town, while Rafī'ū 'd-Dīn Ibrāhīm mentions the particular adjunct of the town where Ḥasan lived. Nor can we impute any motive to the author of the *Tadhkiratu'l-Mulūk*, for he tries to prove or disprove nothing, but merely states that Ḥasan spent his early days in the Deccan at Gangī.

The omission of the *yā'* in the version of Baranī available to us is a serious factor to be reckoned with, as the author happens to be a contemporary writer. But before attaching too much value to the author, who wrote under Fīrūz Tughluq, the following facts should be borne in mind. Firstly, Baranī was in the royal camp and Ḥasan was a rebel against Baranī's patrons. Secondly, Baranī did not come across Ḥasan or even go to the area of his activity or the territory under his rule to know his name exactly. Thirdly, it is possible that the omission of the *yā'* was an error by Baranī himself or one of his scribes. Fourthly, the three authors—Firishtah, 'Alī bin 'Azīzillāh Ṭabāṭabā and Khāfī Khān—who have retained the *yā'* had access to Baranī's work. Since they have all retained the *yā'* and none of them have mentioned the absence of it in Baranī's version, it is quite probable that Baranī's copy available to them had the *yā'* of relationship. Fifthly, it is highly likely that the vast number of books available to the above mentioned famous authors, who have quoted many of them, of which some are not available to us, possessed the *yā'* now missing in Baranī's version. Sixthly, due weight should be given to the fact that the two famous historians who wrote in the Deccan—Firishtah and 'Alī bin 'Azīzillāh—and who had access to the manuscripts in the Royal libraries of the Deccan, both have retained the *yā'*; and Khāfī Khān who, admittedly, followed Firishtah, as far as the history of the Deccan was concerned, has also kept that letter.

For the above six reasons the absence of the *yā'* in Baranī's text, now available to us, is not of much consequence since

his knowledge about Ḥasan could not have been accurate. An account of the manuscripts consulted in this connection is given in Appendix E.

To conclude, Ḥasan's early life in the Deccan was spent at Gangī,¹ and his family, even later, continued to live in or near that place. The township formed a part of his first *jāgīr*,² Hence he was called Gangawī after Gangī which was his early place of residence in the Deccan. The place being too insignificant for a proud king's name to be related to it, the epithet seems to have been dropped after Bahman became the Sulṭān of the Deccan.

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1. *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 154: *Ta'rikh* (Hyderabad), Vol. III, Part IX, Supplement (January to March, 1931), p. 16.
 2. *The Burhān*. p. 29.

CHAPTER V. CONSOLIDATION

Although Zafar Khān was chosen the ruler of the Deccan, what he actually got from Nāṣiru 'd-Dīn Ismā'īl Mukh was the leadership of the rebels—a group of self-seeking and turbulent soldiers, the possession of a few strongholds scattered over the western part of the Deccan plateau and an opportunity to carve out and consolidate a kingdom, if he could. The situation demanded great tact and patience to deal with and utilize the services of the headstrong chiefs around him, immense insight to organise the ruined machinery of Government in a way which would satisfy the discontented masses of the people and inordinate courage and ability to tackle the military problems arising out of the rebellion against one of the most energetic monarchs that ever sat on the throne of Dihlī. The rising power of the new and vigorous kingdom of Vijayanagar in the South, the rebirth of some of the kingdoms like that of Telingāna, and the exposed nature of the area which came under Bahman Shāh threatened the new kingdom from many sides.

The kingdom was bounded on the north-west by Baglāna, and on the north by the region which later became Khāndēsh, but was, at that time, a part of Mālwah. On the north-east the South Pūrna River formed the boundary up to its junction with the Gōdāvarī.

On the east, Khandhra (Kandahār) was garrisoned by some of the soldiers of Sartīz who had escaped from the battle-field and had to be regained by Ḥusayn Hathiyah. Kāpaya Nāidu of Warangal is reported to have held Kawlās, but Bīdar was in the hands of the rebels. Thus, the eastern boundary started near the junction of the South Pūrna with the Gōdāvarī to the west of the town of Nander and running south joined the Manjīra River (the Tirna)² at its junction

1. Firishṭah, Vol. I, p. 276, line 7 from below,

2. The Tirna flows into the Manjīra, but it is not clear where the Tirna ends and the Manjīra begins.

with the Karanja River, a few miles to the north-west of Bhalki. Then, it ran along the Manjira up to its southern bend, and therefrom, coursing south, it reached the Mūsī, a few miles to the west of Golconda. Then it marched further south crossing the Mūsī and ending at a point to the south-east of Dharūr.

On the south, when Sartīz left Gulbargalī to pursue Zafar Khān, he left one Bōja Rēzī (Reddi)¹ in charge of the fort. After the victory over the Turkoman, Zafar Khān's main concern was forcing the loyalists to raise the siege of Dawlatābād. Hence Gulbargah and its adjacent area remained in the hands of Sulṭān Muḥammad's officers. Akalkot, Mahēndrī (Mundārgī), Kaliyānī and Gulbargah had to be conquered by Bahman Shāh. Thus, his kingdom, at the outset, did not reach Kaliyānī on the South. In the same direction to the south-west the tract between the Krishna and Ghāṭprabha rivers was under a Hindu chieftain named Nārāyan, who had been paying tribute to Muḥammad bin Tughluq and who refused to acknowledge the suzerainty of Bahman Shāh. The southern boundary of Bahman's kingdom at the time of his accession commenced at a point to the south-east of Dharūr and from there took a north-westerly course (taking Dharūr into its fōld) to join the Karanja along which it ran to its confluence with the Tirna River. The boundary line ran westward along the bank of the Tirna to a few miles on the west of Tuljāpūr, turned sharply southward to reach the river Sīna, excluding Mahēndrī and Akalkōt (on the east), which were under the officers of Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughluq. From there it proceeded in a south-westerly direction to join the Krishna south of Miraj and west of Jāmkhandī.

As for the west, Ibn Baṭṭūṭah mentions petty rulers of ports and their adjacent districts owing allegiance and paying tribute to the Sulṭān of Dihlī. But their allegiance seems to

1. 'Iṣāmī, pp. 571, 572 and 573. The Burhān calls him Pōcha Reddi, p. 19, line 2.

have been withheld from Bahman Shāh, for we find him and his successors subduing them one after another. The western boundary line of Bahman Shāh's kingdom, at the time of his accession, commenced in the South from the Krishna at a point between Jāmkhandī and Miraj and followed its bank in a northerly direction to the junction of the Yerla River with the Krishna and followed the bank of the Yerla to Wai, and from there, taking a north-easterly course, reached the south-western corner of Baglāna near Vada, excluding the narrow plain to the west of the Ghats. (Please see the map).

A group of daring and adventurous officers of the Sultān of Dihlī had carved out a respectable kingdom in the Deccan, and had chosen Ḥasao to be the Sultān. Every man who had taken part in the revolt and played a role of some significance expected a reward commensurate with his services. If Ḥasan failed to satisfy the rebels, they would not hesitate to start a rebellion against him. Hence the first business which Bahman Shāh undertook was to reward his comrades who had helped him to win the kingship. He bestowed the title of Amīru 'l-Umarā' on Ismā'il Mukh and gave him the command of the entire army and power over the purse.

To him all the wealth and horse Bahman gave
But only the name of king he didn't have.²

Ismā'il Mukh had everything but the name of king. Muḥammad, son of Bahman, received his father's former title, Zafar Khān,³ and Muḥammad bin 'Aynu 'd-Dīn, who had been one of the nobles of Sultān Muḥammad Tughluq and had joined Zafar Khān, bringing his son also with him,⁴ that of Khwājah Jahān. Iskandar Khān was made Bārbak⁵ and Bahrām Wakīl-i-Dar with 'Umar as his deputy.⁶ The officer whose name had been Natthū was conferred the title of Shēr

1. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 277, last two lines but three.

2. 'Iṣmā'ī, p. 570, third couplet.

3. Ibid., p. 555, lines 3-4.

4. The Burhān, p. 15, last line and p. 16, first line.

5. 'Iṣmā'ī, p. 555, lines 6-7.

6. Ibid., p. 555, line 8.

Khān¹ while Husāmu 'd-Dīn Aqchī,² son of Ārām Shāh,³ was appointed Nā'ib-i-Wazīr.⁴ Malik Hindū, the Turkoman,⁵ obtained distinction as 'Imādu 'l-Mulk⁶ and received the post of Šāhib-i-'Arḍī (Ārid-i-Jaysh). Pūr-i-Zayd, a descendant of Zayd Shahīd,⁷ got the title of Quṭbu 'l-Mulk⁸ and Sayyid Raḍīu 'd-Dīn of noble birth was called Faṭhu 'l-Mulk.¹⁰ Shamsu 'd-Dīn, son of Rashīqī, was posted as Hājib-i-Khāṣṣ.¹¹ Malik Shādī took charge as Nā'ib Bārbak,¹² and Husayn Hathiyaḥ, who was conferred the title of Gurshāsp,¹³ was chosen as Qira Bak on the left side,¹⁴ while the corresponding office on the right went to Shamsu 'd-Dīn, son of Pīghū.¹⁵ The title of 'Umdatū 'l-Mulk was bestowed on Sharfu 'd-Dīn Pārsī, who was famous for his penmanship,¹⁶ and he was made the Dabīr.¹⁷ Iliyās, the renowned warrior, was addressed as Zahīru 'l-Juyūsh.¹⁸ Qaḍī Jalālu 'd-Dīn, who had revolted

1. The Burhān, p. 16, lines 1 and 2. 'Iṣāmī's printed text has the term as Sayr Khān without the dots on the Sīn.

2. The Burhān, p. 16, line 3.

3. 'Iṣāmī, p. 552, line 9.

4. Ibid, p. 555, line 14.

5. The Burhān, p. 16, line 2.

6. 'Iṣāmī, p. 555, line 15.

7. The Burhān, p. 16, line 2.

8. Ibid, p. 16, line 3.

9. 'Iṣāmī, p. 555, line 16.

10. Ibid, lines 17-18

According to 'Iṣāmī, Pūr-i-Zayd and Sayyid Raḍīu 'd-Dīn were two different nobles. The former received the title of Quṭbu 'l-Mulk and the latter that of Faṭhu 'l-Mulk. Pūr-i-Zayd is depicted as a warrior and Raḍīu 'd-Dīn as a noble of gentle qualities.

The brave son of Zayd, Quṭbu 'l-Mulk became,
Who would on battle-fields tigers tame.
Raḍīu 'd-Dīn, the Sayyid, polite and good,
Of noble nature and pure spotless blood,
Became Faṭhu 'l-Mulk, also the World's Pride,
The heaven getting from his door its pride.

('Iṣāmī, p. 555, lines 16-18).

The Burhān confuses these two into one:

"Zhakājūt Sayyid Raḍīu 'd-Dīn, who was a descendant of Zayd Shahīd, obtained the title of Quṭbu 'l-Mulk". (The Burhān, p. 16, lines 3-4).

11. 'Iṣāmī, p. 555, line 19.

12. Ibid, line 20.

13. Ibid, last line.

14. Ibid, p. 556, first line.

15. Ibid, line 2.

16. Ibid, line 3.

17. The Burhān, p. 16, line 6, last word.

18. 'Iṣāmī, p. 556, line 4.

against Muḥammad bin Tughluq at Awrah,¹ killed Muqbil, the Hākīm of that town, and joined Zafar Khān, was honoured as Qadr Khān.² Malik Bayrām assumed the post of Nā'ib Qira Bak on the right, and 'Alā'u 'd-Dīn took the same office on the left.³ Tāju 'd-Dīn had the honour of being known as Tāju 'l-Mulk⁴ and Najmu 'd-'In, who came from the region of Dhār, as Nāşīru 'l-Mulk.⁵ Naşīru 'd-Dīn Taghalchī was made, 'Aḍdu 'l-Mulk and the Guard of the Throne.⁶ The trustworthy Ḥusayn (Ḥasan),⁷ son of Turān, was nominated Treasurer,⁸ Muḥammad, son of Jalālu 'd-Dīn (Qadr Khān), was honoured as Azhdar-i-Mulk.⁹ The son of Mubārak Khān was made Shahnah-i-Fil (Master of Elephants)¹⁰ and blessed with the title of "Khusraw Parwīz".¹¹ Abū Ṭālib was offered the office of Sardawātdār¹² and Malik Shādī, son of Qayşar 'Aṭā', that of Kharīṭah Kash.¹³ To the two posts of Jāndār-i-Khāṣṣ, one on the right and the other on the left, whose duty was to keep people away from the king, Bahman Shāh selected Aḥmad, son of Harb, and Tāju 'd-Dīn, son of Dahshīr.¹⁴ Bahām was elevated to the seat of Nā'ib-i-'Ārid-i-Jaysh.¹⁵

Then followed the appointment of Chamberlains—Malik Chhajjū as Chief Chamberlain,¹⁶ and Qādī Bahā'u 'd-Dīn, a renowned poet and literateur, as Hājib-i-Qiṣṣah.¹⁷ Rajab was appointed Shahnah-i-Bārgah and Khidr was allotted

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| 1. See Appendix D. | 2. The Burhān, p. 16, lines 7-8. |
| 3. 'Iṣāmī, p. 556, line 6. | 4. Ibid, line 7. |
| 5. Ibid, line 8. | 6. Ibid, line 9. |
| 7. The Burhān, gives the name as Ḥasan, p. 16, line 10. | |
| 8. 'Iṣāmī, p. 556, line 10. | |
| 9. Ibid, line 11 : the Burhān-i-Ma'āthīr, p. 16, line 8. | |
| 10. 'Iṣāmī, p. 556, line 12. | |
| 11. Ibid, line 13. | 12. Ibid, line, 14. |
| 13. Ibid, line 15. | 14. Ibid, lines 16-17. |
| 15. Ibid, line 18. | 16. Ibid, line 19. |
| 17. Ibid, p. 556, last but one line. | |
18. Ibid. Hājib-i-Qaḍīyah (Judicial Secretary) would have been more appropriate for an eminent Judge. But all the texts read Hājib-i-Qiṣṣah. Hence it is not improbable that he was a story-teller or narrator of history.

his deputyship.¹ For the two places of Akhūr Bak, left and right, were chosen Qīmāz and Khulāṣah² Maḥmud was lifted to occupy the seat of Shahnah-i-Khwān³ and Shihābu 'd-Dīn, son of Kunwarpāl, attained the dignity of Sar Ābdār,⁴ while Shēr Khān of Jālwar that of Sahmu 'l-Hasham⁵ (Bakhshī-i-Fawj).⁶ 'Alī Shāh's rank was fixed as that of Sarpardahdār.⁷ The title holders of the previous regime retained their old titles.⁸ Ṣadru 'sh-Sharīf Samarqandī was appointed Ṣadr⁹ and Mīr Muḥammad Munajjim Badakshī, Qāḍī of the Army (Qāḍīu 'l-'Askar).¹⁰

In addition to conferring titles and high offices, Bahman Shāh bestowed *iqṭā's* (areas to be reduced and held) on the leading chiefs.¹¹ Ismā'īl Mukh was sent to Akād. Khwājah Jahān proceeded towards Gulbargah from Mīraj.¹² Sikandar Khān marched to Kōir (Kōhir)¹³ and Qīr Khān to Bīdar.¹⁴ Ḥusayn Hathiyah was sent to Kandahār.¹⁵ Quṭbu 'l-Mulk rode towards Mahēndrī¹⁶ and Ṣafdar Khān was despatched to Sagar.¹⁷

From the foregoing long list of titles, offices and assignments conferred on the erstwhile accomplices in the revolt against Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughluq, it is quite clear that Bahman was at great pains to do all that he could to satisfy his comrades. Yet they were not satisfied, and many of them entertained enmity towards the new ruler.¹⁸

The next step towards consolidation was finding a natural frontier for the new kingdom, especially at the cost of Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughluq. Bahman Shāh ordered 'Imādu 'l-Mulk

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| 1. 'Iṣāmī, p. 556, last line. | 2. Ibid, p. 557, first two lines. |
| 3. Ibid, line 3. | 4. Ibid, line 4. |
| 5. Ibid, line 5. | 6. Ibid, p. 557, foot-note. |
| 7. Ibid, p. 557, line 6. | 8. Ibid, line 8. |
| 9. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 277, line 20. | 10. Ibid. |
| 11. 'Iṣāmī, p. 557, lines 13-14. | 12. Ibid, lines 15-16. |
| 13. Ibid, line 17. | 14. Ibid. |
| 15. Ibid, line 18. | 16. Ibid, line 19. |
| 17. Ibid, line 20. | 18. Ibid, p. 558, ninth couplet. |

(Malik Hindū) and Mubārak Khān (Jawar Banbal Khurram Muftī) to advance from the fortress of Sāgūn.¹ The first town to fall was Dāngirī,² the commander of which place, Rāmānāth, was slain.³ From there they rushed to Chanchwāl,⁴ and killing the officer in charge, Dhalmahla,⁵ brought it under the rule of Bahman. The generals reached the Tāvī (Taptī) in the North.⁶

Husayo Hathiyah (Gurshāsp), who was sent towards Kotgīr, heard that the Muslim soldiers of Kandabār had risen against their commander Alrāj (Akrāj)⁷ forcing him to flee at midnight. He reached Boudan; but the members of his family, who could not escape, were taken captive. The rai sent a message to Gurshāsp and submitted to him.⁸ Husayn dashed towards Kandahār, received the submission of the town on behalf of Bahman,⁹ and then returned to besiege Kotgīr, which was held by a Hindu.¹⁰ After a time, some of the citizens opened the gate and admitted the besiegers inside the fort.¹¹

Pūr-i-Zayd (Quṭbu 'l-Mulk) occupied Maram¹² and Akalkōt.¹³ He then attacked Mahēndrī (Mundārgī), and slaying the marzbān of that fort, renamed the town Sayyidābād.¹⁴ "Each of the Zamīndārs of that district, who submitted to his rule, he left in undisturbed possession of his feudal lands, and restrained his troops from plundering his property; but any who disputed his authority, their country and goods were plundered and they and those under them put to death. Notwithstanding the smallness of his force, he succeeded

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| 1. 'Iṣāmī, p. 560. | 2. Ibid. |
| 3. Ibid. | 4. Ibid. |
| 5. Ibid. | 6. Ibid. |
| 7. Ibid, p. 561, line 3: The Burhān calls him Akrāj, p. 16, last but one line. Obviously, the stroke of the Kāf is omitted in 'Iṣāmī. | |
| 8. The Burhān, p. 16, last line. | 9. 'Iṣāmī, p. 561, line 7. |
| 10. Ibid, line 15. | 11. Ibid, lines 16 and 17. |
| 12. See Appendix D. | 13. 'Iṣāmī, p. 562. |
| 14. Ibid, p. 562, (heading): The Burhān, p. 17, line 11. See also Appendix D under Sayyidābād. | |

in gaining possession of three or four celebrated fortresses".¹

Qīr Khān invested the fort of Kaliyānī for five months² (fifty days)³ using 'arrādahs and maghribīs.⁴ At last the garrison, its provision having exhausted, surrendered the fort to Qīr Khān who declared a general amnesty.⁵ Since the fort of Kaliyānī was a very strong one, Bahman was very happy at its conquest. He celebrated the victory for a week, and in commemoration of it, changed the name of Dawlatābād and called it Fathāhād.⁶

Sikandar Khān who held the *iqṭā'* of Bīdar, divided the districts into small *jāgīrs* and bestowed them on his officers. Then he made a raid as far south as Malkhūd and returned back to Bīdar.⁷ Sikandar, who was on the border of the Teling kingdom, sent a message of good will to the ruler, who had already helped Bahman Shāh with a force, (sent from Kawlās just before the battle with Sartīz), and proposed to him an offensive and defensive treaty.⁸ Kāpaya Nāidu, agreeing to have a treaty with Bahman Shāh, requested Sikandar to meet him on the border between the two kingdoms.⁹ The Khān met the Hindu ruler and concluded a treaty with him. The rāja had to surrender Kawlās and its dependencies¹⁰ and give two elephants by way of tribute or present to the Sulṭān of the Deccan.¹¹ The two chiefs concluded a treaty of friendship and parted.¹² Sikandar brought the two elephants to Bīdar and sent them on to Bahman Shāh who, immensely pleased with the gift, sent a costly umbrella (canopy) to Kāpaya.¹³

1. The Burhān-i-Ma'āthir, p. 17, lines 11-15: Indian Antiquary, Vol. XXVIII, p. 145.

2. 'Iṣāmī, p. 563.

3. The Burhān, p. 17, line 20.

4. 'Iṣāmī, p. 563.

5. Ibid.

6. The Burhān, p. 17, lines 22 to 24. See also Sherwānī, pp. 71-72,

7. 'Iṣāmī, pp. 564-65.

8. Ibid, pp. 565-66

9. Ibid, p. 566.

10. Firishtab, Vol. I p. 278.

11. 'Iṣāmī, p. 568.

12. Ibid, pp. 567, 68.

13. Ibid, p. 569.

Ismā'īl Mukh who was assigned the *thānah* of Akād near Tardal and Jākmandī¹ (Jāmkhandī)² retired to his *jāgīr* and spent some time in rest and enjoyment. Thereafter he entertained disloyalty to the Sulṭān of his own creation and had to be eliminated. 'Iṣāmī skips over the affair by saying that Nārūyan led him astray, inveigled him into his fort by false promises and oaths and imprisoned him after killing all his relatives.³ According to 'Iṣāmī and the *Burhān-i-Ma'āthir*, he was poisoned by Nārūyan.⁴

Firishṭah writes that on festive occasions, when the Sulṭān held a *darbār*, on the arrival of Ismā'īl, he used to walk up a few paces to receive him. Then Bahman would sometimes lead the ex-Sulṭān to the Dīwān Khānah, and seating him on the throne by his side, conduct the proceedings of the *darbār*.⁵ On a certain Nawrūz (New Year's Day), after the marriage of the heir-apparent, Muḥammad, with the daughter of Sayfu 'd-Dīn Ghūrī, Bahman Shāh held a *darbār*. On the arrival of Sayfu 'd-Dīn, at the instance of the Sulṭān, Ṣadru 'sh-Ṣharīf Samarqandī and Sayyid Aḥmad Ghaznawī Muftī took Sayfu 'd-Dīn by the hand and led him to a seat nearer the Sulṭān than that of Ismā'īl. The ex-Sulṭān, who felt insulted, walked up to the throne of Bahman Shāh, and with tears trickling down his cheeks, protested against the treatment.⁶ The Sulṭān replied that he was marked out for the posts of Amīru 'l-Umarā' and Sipāh Sālār and that Sayfu 'd-Dīn Ghūrī had been bestowed the offices of *wakālat* and *niyābat* and chided Ismā'īl for aspiring for more and more of distinction and power.⁷

Ismā'īl kept quiet and continued to attend the Royal functions as usual accepting the place lower than that of Malik Sayfu 'd-Dīn Ghūrī with assumed cheer and cordiality ; but secretly he conspired with his sons and relatives, who had

1. The *Burhān*, p. 18, line 23,

2. 'Iṣāmī, p. 591, line 13.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 570, line 5 from below.

4. The *Burhān*, p. 18, last but one line : 'Iṣāmī, p. 588, line 11.

5. *Firishṭah*, Vol. I, pp. 278-79.

6. *Ibid.*

7. *Ibid.*

all become nobles of the court, as well as with some of the Afghān chiefs, who were friendly towards him, to do away with the Sulṭān during a campaign or hunting expedition and re-establish himself on the throne of the Deccan.¹ The plot was betrayed.

Bahman Shāh assembled the leading nobles, Sayyids, judges, scholars and *Mashā'ikh* of the kingdom and enquired of Ismā'il Mukh as to the cause for plotting against him. The accused denying on serious oaths that he ever entertained any treasonable thought, Bahman turned towards the dignitaries assembled and called upon those who had sworn allegiance to Ismā'il in secret to come forward and bear witness under a promise that none of them would be punished. A group of nobles and officers, who had paid secret homage to the ex-Sulṭān, realising that their safety lay in speaking out the truth, publicly disclosed all that had happened.² The guilt of Ismā'il having been thus proved beyond any possibility of doubt, Bahman Shāh obtained from the assembly a verdict for his execution and had the sentence carried out on the spot.³

At the same time the Sulṭān pardoned all the others who were implicated in the plot and stayed all further investigations in that connection. He forgave the guilt of Ismā'il's sons and other relatives and summoning Bahādur Khān, son of Ismā'il, granted him the place of his father.⁴ Moreover, Bahman Shāh treated with great consideration and generosity all those who were left behind by the ex-Sulṭān of the Deccan. By showering special favours on Bahādur Khān and others Bahman succeeded in winning over all of them.⁵

Iṣmā'ī disposes of the Ismā'il episode earlier than the campaign of Bahmān Shāh against Sagar and Tālikota much before Qādī Sayfu 'd-Dīn Ghūrī joined the new Sulṭān.

1. *Firishtah*, Vol. I, 279.

2. *Ibid.*

3. *Ibid.*, line 13.

4. *Ibid.*, line 14.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 279.

From Firīshṭah's account it would appear that the event took place much later.

Gulbargah was held by one Pōcha¹ (Bōja)² for Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughluq. Bahman Shāh ordered Khwājah Jahān, who was at Mubārakābād, Miraj, to proceed against Gulbargah and Quṭbu 'l-Mulk came to his succour from Mahēndri. The attackers set up *majāniqs* and '*anādahs*'³ and rained stones into the town and against the wall.⁴ The siege protracted until at last a few traitors inside the fort tied ropes to the turrets of the fort, and letting them down, helped the assailants to scale the walls and take the fort by force. The combatants were put to the sword and the town given up to pillage, resulting in great carnage and immense booty.⁵

After the conquest of Gulbargah, 'Iṣāmī calls Khwājah Jahān "A'zam-l-Humāyūn Khwājah Jahān",⁶ and later adds the epithet, "Wazīr-i-Mamālik".⁷ Soon after this victory, Khwājah Jahān celebrated it for a week and started repairing the damages done to the town, subduing the country around and putting the administrative machinery in order.

Now, when Khwājah Jahān was engaged in the work of reconstruction, news came to him that the soldiers of Sagar, under the command of Ṣafdar Khān, who were besieging the fort of Kinbā (Khembhavī),⁸ for nine months, had revolted against their commander, under the leadership of Muḥammad bin 'Ālim, 'Alam Bak Natthū and Khepras and killed Ṣafdar

1. The Burhān, p. 19, line 3 : Sherwānī, p. 54.

2. 'Iṣāmī, p. 571, line 13.

3. 'Alī bin 'Azīzillāh gives the word cannon (The Burhān, p. 19 line 3). Major King has written a note to say "Here is the first mention of fire-arms" (Indian Antiquary, Vol. XXVIII, p. 146, f. n. 18). 'Iṣāmī has used the words '*anādah* and '*majāniq*' (p. 571, lines 16 and 20), neither of them signifies a fire-arm. For details about these two types of machines see my book Arab Administration, pp. 144-45.

4. 'Iṣāmī, p. 571, line 16.

5. Ibid, pp. 571-72.

6. Ibid, p. 573.

7. Ibid, p. 580.

8. The Burhān, p. 19, line 12, see also Appendix D.

Khān.¹ From 'Iṣāmī's report it appears that Ṣafdar Khān was not pressing the siege with vigour² and the rebels suspected that their leader was trafficking with the enemy. 'Alī Lūchī and Fakhru 'd-Dīn Muhrdār, pleading some excuse, left the scene of occurrence.³ Then, intoxicated with success and elated at the possession of the treasure-chest, the insurrectionists marched to Sagar and driving away the officers in charge of the fort, occupied the town.⁴

Ṣulṭān Muḥammad was still alive and energetic, and Bahman Shāh was only a rebel with a morally weak position. Any one of his nobles could rise against him as he himself had done against his master. Hence he had to be very careful. He avoided clashes with his powerful neighbours, reconciled his nobles, acted with lenience and generosity towards his officers and soldiers lest his energies should be frittered away in avoidable quarrels and struggles. Pursuing the conciliatory policy of the monarch, Khwājah Jahān sent a letter to Muḥammad bin 'Ālim condoning the murder of the uofaithful⁵ Ṣafdar Khān and calling upon him to return to obedience.⁶ Ibn-i-'Ālim sent 'Alam Bak Natthū with ten horse to inform Khwājah Jahān that Ṣafdar Khān was disloyal to Bahman Shāh and ill-treated and oppressed the soldiers, that this drove the army into revolt against him and forced it to murder him, that since the rebels had appropriated the treasure-chest, the Wazīr (Dastūr) might be displeased with them, and that, under the circumstances, the best course would be to bestow Sagar and its dependecies on them as a *jāgīr* to be held of Bahman Shāh.⁷ Khwājah Jahān kept Natthū and his party under detention⁸ and reported the details to the king who ordered him to march against the rebels keeping the door open for a peaceful termination of hostilities.⁹ Khwājah

1. 'Iṣāmī, p. 575.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid, p. 575, line 14.

4. Ibid. line 15.

5. Ibid, p. 576, couplet 8.

6. Ibid, p. 576.

7. Ibid, p. 577.

8. The Burhān, p. 19, line 22.

9. 'Iṣāmī, p. 577, last but two lines.

Jahān crossed the river Jhanūrī (Chhanūrī, Bhīma) and from there sent raiding parties to cause terror among the rebels. Muḥammad bin 'Ālim now sent a force to contest the progress of the Wazīr and again a despatch proposing peace and amicable settlement.¹ Matters prolonged thus for about two months when Bahman Shāh who, afraid of Muḥammad Tughluq, did not wish to have any enemy within his kingdom, himself moved South, leaving behind at Dawlatābād some of his most reliable nobles—Qadr Khān, Gurshāsp, Haybatzan Khān, 'Imādu 'l-Mulk, 'Aḍdu 'l-Mulk, Qiwāmu 'l-Mulk Nā'ib-i-Wazīr, Azhdar-i-Mulk, Shamsu 'd-Dīn, son of Pīghū, and Kajak.²

Firīshṭah writes that Bahman Shāh left Bahrām Khān Māzandarānī in charge of the citadel of Dawlatābād.³ According to 'Iṣāmī, Bahrām Khān (Wakīl-i-Dar) was in the company of Ḥasan when Nārāyan made his night attack in the vicinity of Mudhūl, and he was one of those officers who took part in repelling the onslaught.⁴ Bahrām Khān's appointment as the Governor of Dawlatābād should be placed at a date after the 14th May, 1350, when 'Iṣāmī completed his work.

On reaching Gulbargah, Bahman summoned back Khwājah Jahān Wazīr-i-Mamālīk, and received from him a report of all that had happened in the province during the preceding six months.⁵

The *Burhān-i-Ma'āthir* says that it was at this stage of Bahman's career, that is, before his proceeding to Sagar from Gulbargah to subdue Muḥammad bin 'Ālim, that Bahman Shāh received the news of the death of Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughluq.⁶ This could not have happened because 'Iṣāmī, who completed his work on the 6th of Rabī' I, 751 A.H.,⁷

1. 'Iṣāmī, p. 578.

2. Ibid, p. 580.

3. Firīshṭah, Vol. I, p. 227, last line.

4. 'Iṣāmī, p. 592, last but one line.

5. Ibid, p. 581, line 15.

6. The *Burhān*, p. 21, top.

7. The *Futūḥu 's-Salāṭīn*, p. 618, lines 8 and 9, read with p. 613, line 3.

ten and a half months before the death of Muḥammad, which occurred on the 21st of Muḥarram, 752 A.H.,¹ has given the details of the subjugation of Nārāyan² and the subsequent events up to the capture and pardoning of Qīr Khān.³

After a few days' stay at Gulbargab, Bahman Shāh marched towards Sagar crossing the Jhanūrī. Muḥammad bin 'Ālim came forward, and seeking and obtaining safety of life, surrendered himself into captivity.⁴ Bahman Shāh occupied Sagar, restored the property of those whom the rebels had robbed and brought order into the administration of the district.⁵ While the Sulṭān was at Sagar, he bestowed in'āms (rewards in the form of estates) and pensions on the *Mashā'ikh* of that region, such as Shaykh 'Aynu 'd-Dīn Bijāpūrī, who called himself a disciple and the successor of Mīr (Sayyid) 'Alā'u 'd-Dīn Jaunpūrī, and Mawlāna Mu'īnu 'd-Dīn Hirawī who had been the teacher of Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughluq Shāh.⁶

At Sagar, Bahman ordered Mubārak Khān (Abu Bakr Jawar Banbal) and Quṭbu 'l-Mulk to raid the territory of Hariap (Hariappa, the rāja of Vijayanagar).⁷ They raided and looted the country-side till they reached a fortified place called Karrīchūr : and extracting horses and other valuables from the Commander of the fort and also taking him captive, they returned to Sagar.⁸ I am inclined to think that Karrichūr, which has not yet been identified, is a copyist's distortion of Rāichūr, in the case of 'Iṣāmī, which has been followed by the author of the *Burhān*. The distance between the border of the district of Sagar, where Bahman's presence is reported, and the town of Rāichūr is less than 15 miles.

Thereafter Bahman set out towards the East with Mandhōl (Mudhōl) as the destination. On reaching Kinbā (Khembhavī), the chieftain of the place, Kbepras,⁹ came forward,

1. *Fir̄ishtah*, Vol. I, p. 143, line 3 from below.

2. 'Iṣāmī, pp. 590-96.

4. *Ibid.* p. 603.

6. *The Burhān*, p. 21, li: es 13-15.

8. *Ibid.* p. 535.

3. *Ibid.* p. 602.

5. *Ibid.*

7. 'Iṣāmī, p. 584, last line.

9. *Ibid.* p. 565, last line.

and seeking pardon, offered two years' tribute which was accepted by the Sulṭān of the Deccan.¹ From there he proceeded to punish Nārāyan and on the second day reached Tālikōṭa.² The holder of the fief was one Mu'īnu 'd-Dīn, an officer of Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughluq. He had been in league with Nārāyan. On the approach of Bahman Shāh, Mu'īnu 'd-Dīn surrendered to him and was treated by the rebel ruler with much regard and consideration.³

From Tālikōṭa, Bahman Shāh had travelled some distance towards Mudhōl, when a messenger from Qādī Sayfu 'd-Dīn Ghūrī delivered an offer from the Ghūrīd chief to desert Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughluq and join the court of Ḥasan. Sayfu 'd-Dīn, who held the jāgīr of Irgah from the Sulṭān of Dihlī, was a powerful factor, and to win him over Bahman Shāh seems to have made profuse promises. Ḥasan continued his march towards Mudhōl and was joined by Sayfu 'd-Dīn at the head of a large army.⁴ The combined

1. 'Iṣāmī, pp. 585-86.

2. Ibid. p. 586, line 14.

3. The Burhān i-Ma'āthir, p. 22, paragraph 2.

4. 'Iṣāmī, p. 586. It was at this stage that Sayfu 'd-Dīn Ghūrī joined Bahman Shāh. Firishtah's account that Sayfu 'd-Dīn Ghūrī was in supreme command (Vol. 1, p. 176, line 18) on the side of the rebels at the battle of Sindhtan, which took place between the forces of Dihlī under Sariz and those of Sulṭān Nāṣiru 'd-Dīn Ismā'il Muḥ., has to be regarded as incorrect. The following message of Bahman Shāh conveyed to Sayfu 'd-Dīn through the latter's messenger (as well as the lines of 'Iṣāmī preceding it) which is reported by the contemporary poet proves beyond all doubt that the noble concerned was the very important Sayfu 'd-Dīn Ghūrī who became the Wakīl or Nā'ib of the Sulṭān of the Deccan, that he had been in the service of Muḥammad Tughluq until he joined Bahman Shāh ('Iṣāmī, p. 588, line 6) and that it was after the surrender of Muḥammad bin 'Ā'im at Sagar, that Qādī (Malik) Sayfu 'd-Dīn Ghūrī changed over his loyalty to Bahman Shāh:

Important affairs of this kingdom fair,
Are held up, for thy wisdom I couldn't share.
Come soon, my friend, let's be happy and gay,
And n' let the cares of kingship on thee lay.
Come, administer all my kingdom vast,
So that my weight off my head, I may cast.
Since you have so far committed no wrong
Towards me, O, one, in faith and love strong,
It is a matter of deep grief and pain
You are not with me when I rule and reign.

('Iṣāmī, p. 587, last 5 lines).

forces crossed the Kinha¹ (Krishna) and Bahman Shāh sent an ultimatum to Nārāyan through Bahā'u 'd-Dīn, Ḥājib-i-Qiṣṣālī, to surrender, on the promise of being allowed to retain his territory as *jāgīr*. Nārāyan declined the offer and went ahead with preparations to defend his region. He himself remained at Jāmkhandī, sent Gōpāl to hold Mudhōl and two other Hindu chiefs to defend the forts of Tardal and Bagarkōt² (Bagalkōt).

Bahman Shāh reached the vicinity of Jāmkhandī, and was making preparations to reduce it, when Nārāyan sent a force of one thousand foot and two hundred horse (Hindūs and Muslims) to attack the Sulṭān's camp at night.³ The garrison of the fort also sallied out at the same time. Bahman, who was alert, despatched several detachments under Mubārak Khān, Sayfu 'd-Dīn, Bahrām (Wakīl-i-Dar), 'Um̄r (Nā'ib-i-Wakīl-i-Dar) Malik Aḥmad, son of Ḥarb, and others.⁴ They succeeded in chasing away the night attackers and forcing the garrison to take shelter within the fort.⁵ Of the prisoners taken in the night some were caused to be trampled to death by elephants and others to be impaled. A chief, who was taken captive, was taken round the fort along with the stake on which he was impaled.⁶

The army now battered the walls with "catapults, and before three-quarters of the night was out, entered the fort through a breach in the wall with the King himself. This victory had been won not only by the royal army but also by the help of certain Hindu chiefs, the most prominent of whom was Dilip Singh, son of Sujān Singh of the royal line of Mewar, who had already helped the cause of Deccan independence during the struggle with the Tughluq forces. The King was greatly pleased and on 25-9-753/4-11-1352 granted him ten villages in the province of Dawlatbad and the

1. 'Iṣmī, p. 590,

2. Ibid, p. 591.

3. Ibid, p. 592.

4. Ibid,

5. Ibid, p. 593,

6. Ibid.

honorific title of Sardar-i-Khasa Khel".¹ Evidently, Nārāyan escaped from Jāmkhānī; for we find him resisting Bahman Shāh at Mudhōl.

Ẓafar Khān, son of Bahman Shāh, who was holding his father's old jāgīr of Miraj, came with his contingent and brought with him siege weapons, such as *manjanīqs*, 'arrādahs etc. An attempt to take the fort of Mudhōl by assault having failed,² the siege protracted for four months³ until at last Nārāyan, suing for peace, sent two years' tribute which was accepted.

Leaving Mudhōl under Nārāyan, Bahmao Shāh went to his old Jāgīr of Miraj and thence marching towards the Konkan, raided the town of Pattao (Kahārī Pattan),⁴ Ballāla IV having fled the town. Bahman Shāh returned to Miraj and remained there for two months.⁵ After sufficiently resting himself in his old jāgīr, Bahman Shāh returned to Sagar and thence to Gulbargah,⁶ collecting the revenue on the way. Kharāj (tribute) is reported to have arrived from Malkhēd and Sirham (Seram) from Siva Rāi.⁷

Qīr Khān was at Kōīr (Kōhir). He came to the Court at Gulbargah, and, perhaps, having been insulted by the moorarch (according to the Burhān, instigated by Kālay Muḥammad),⁸ left the court without the royal permission and set off to Kōīr. Bahman pursued and overtook him before he crossed the river. But the chief managed to cross the barrier and escaped to Kōīr, although his camp with its content fell into the hands of Bahman.⁹ Qīr Khān shut himself up in the fort of Kōīr, and Bahman left him there for a time. The ruler had taken some prisoners when he attacked the camp of the discontented noble; all of them he set free.¹⁰

1. Sherwānī, p. 56 and p. 72, foot-note 36: Apte, *Mudhol Sansthan-cha Chorpate Gharanchya Itihās*, Poona 1934, cited by Sherwānī.

2. 'Iqāmī, p. 595.

3. Ibid.

4. The Burhān, p. 25, line 10.

5. 'Iqāmī, pp. 596-97.

6. Ibid. p. 597.

7. Ibid, p. 598, first line.

8. The Burhān, p. 25, line 19.

9. 'Iqāmī, p. 598, last two lines.

10. Ibid, p. 599, line 3.

In the meantime, one Kālay Muḥammad, who seems to have been dissatisfied with Bahman Shāh, decided to hold the fort of Kaliyānī against him.¹ Hence, the Sultān of the Deccan marched against him and besieged him in the fort. Thither Sikandar Khān, whom Bahman Shāh had called "son", was summoned from Bīdar and commissioned to proceed against Qīr Khān.²

Sikandar Khān returned to Bīdar, and getting ready to proceed against the rebel chief, had encamped two *farsang* (about 7 miles) away from Bīdar, when Qīr Khān, learning that Sikandar Khān had been commissioned to proceed against him and was about to march towards Kōir, decided to take the offensive, and leaving Kālay Muḥammad in charge of the fort of Kōir,³ made a sudden attack on the camp of Sikandar and took him by surprise.⁴ Still, Sikandar issued forth from his camp, and making a determined attack, reached the very centre of the enemy and forced the assailing force to fall back. Sikandar was following the withdrawing force, when Qīr Khān, who lay in ambush⁵ with a detachment, fell upon the centre of the pursuing foe, and defeating it, looted its content.⁶

1. 'Iṣāmī, p. 600, first couplet.

2. Ibid. p. 600.

3. The Burhān-i-Ma'āthir, p. 25, last four lines.

4. 'Iṣāmī, p. 600, couplet 8.

5. Ibid, last but 5 lines.

6. Ibid, last but 3 lines

In describing the battle, the Burhān-i-Ma'āthir commits a grievous mistake. It reads (p. 26, lines 9 and 10):

"Suddenly Sikandar Khān emerged out from the ambush and attacked the soldiers of Qīr Khān". The preceding passage clearly shows that the words Sikandar and Qīr have inter-changed their places in the above quoted passage. 'Iṣāmī, the contemporary court poet of Bahman, is very clear on the matter :

The old man with an evil mind, they say,
Close by the battle-field in ambush lay.
He saw the foe his centre rout and drive ;
So, 'merging out, did on the field arrive.
At one blow, he knock'd the foe's centre out ;
All the wealth of Bīdar was looted out.

('Iṣāmī, p. 600).

Fakhru 'd-Dīn bin Sha'bān, with a small party of soldiers, rushed against Qīr Khān, but had to fall back before the antagonists' superior might.¹ Mubārak Khān (Abū Bakr Jawar Banbal² Khurram Muftī) rallied the disorganised army of Sikandar Khān, and all the Commanders of the army made a simultaneous assault on Qīr Khān who gave way and turned to flee.³

Fakhru 'd-Dīn overtook him, and bringing him down from his charger, succeeded in taking him prisoner.⁴ Yet the army of Qīr Khān continued the fight and made repeated efforts to release the captive chief.⁵ Finally, it was defeated with great slaughter, and Sikandar Khān, reaching Kōir, laid siege to it. On hearing the news of Qīr Khān's defeat, Bahman Shāh went to Kōir in person, and at the intercession of Sikandar Khān, pardoned Qīr Khān.⁶ The heroic Kālay Muḥammad, who was holding the fort of Kōir, constantly issued forth from the fort and fought against the Sultān with great courage and determination. But Bahman's resources were swelling, while those of Kālay Muḥammad were dwindling day by day. Finally, in one of his sorties, Kālay Muḥammad was wounded, captured and executed.⁷ Thus the last two thorns on the side of Bahman within his own kingdom were removed.

1. Regarding this detail of the battle, it is interesting to note how a defeat is sometimes converted by the historians into a strategic withdrawal. Speaking about the defeat of Fakhru'd-Dīn at the hands of Qīr Khān, the contemporary court poet of Bahman Shāh has the honesty to admit that the former, on account of his smaller number, was defeated.

Fakhr bin Sha'bān whose forces in strength lack'd,
Could not stand the shock, when he was attack'd;
Roll'd back, I learn, like a receding wave,
With such of his brave men as he could save.

('Iṣmī, p. 600, last line and p. 601, first line).

But a later pro-Bahmanī writer, Sayyid 'Alī bin 'Azīzillāh Tabāṭabā, writes that Fakhru 'd-Dīn pretended to fall back in order to lure Qīr Khān.

('The Burhān, p. 26, lines 15-16).

2. 'Iṣmī, p. 601, line 3.

3. Ibid, line 11.

4. Ibid, p. 601,

5. Ibid, line 14.

6. Ibid, p. 602, 'The Burhān, pp. 26-27.

7. 'The Burhān, p. 27, upper half.

After Zafar Khān (Bahman Shāh) had fled from the battlefield outside Dawlatābād to Gulbargah and Nāṣiru 'd-Dīo had taken shelter inside the impregnable citadel, Muḥammad Tughluq allowed his soldiers to sack the city outside the stronghold as well as plunder the helpless citizens and went ahead with his efforts to reduce the fort, as we have already seen, with the help of *manjanīqs* and *'arrādahs* and to make holes under the protection of *sābāṭs*. He had been besieging the fort for three months when news reached him about the rebellion of Malik Taghī against whom he decided to march. When the Sulṭān turned his back on Dawlatābād, the rebel leaders, who had fled to Nāsik and Patūdah, issued forth from their retreat, and pursuing the Royal army, harassed it until it reached the bank of the Narbada, causing great damage. They captured a few elephants laden with treasure, and returned after killing many of the loyalist soldiers.¹ Muḥammad, who was bent on reducing Taghī first, continued his progress towards Broach and applied himself heart and soul to destroying the dangerous rebel.

When Taghī learnt that Muḥammad Tughluq was approaching Broach, he fled towards Kambāyat (Cambay) with about 300 horse. Muḥammad despatched Malik Yūsuf Bughrā with 2,000 horse to pursue him. Taghī turned round in the vicinity of Cambay and defeated Yūsuf. This drew Muḥammad himself towards Taghī, who escaped to Asāwal (Aḥmadābād) followed by the Sulṭān and thence to Pātan. The Sulṭān slacked for a while, which encouraged Taghī, who had by now assembled a large force, to advance towards him and engage him in a battle. Muḥammad Tughluq, as usual, defeated his foe and forced him to flee to Pātan once more, leaving his camp and baggage in the hands of the victor. Again Yūsuf Bughrā was sent to hunt out the rebel. Taghī left Pātan, fled to Khambaliya, and thence to Kathiawār.

While Muḥammad Tughluq was at Pātan (after the flight of Taghī from that place), he received the news that Ḥasan

1. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 142, line 23 ; p. 276, lines 10-13.

Gangawī (Zafar Khān) had defeated 'Imādu 'l-Mulk Sartiz, that he had forced Khudāwandzādah Qiwāmu 'd-Dīn, Malik Jawhar and others to raise the siege of Dawlatābād and retire to Dhār beyond the Narbada, and that Nāširu 'd-Dīn, having relinquished his throne in favour of Zafar Khān, the latter had been installed as the Sulṭān of the Deccan.

The Sultan summoned Malik Fīrūz Khwājah Jahān, Malik Ghaznīn, Ṣadr Jahān, and Amīr Rafī'ah, from Dihlī to come with a large number of soldiers to punish Ḥasan.¹ They arrived with a very big force, and the Sulṭān retained it with him to be used against Ḥasan after the complete subjugation of Gujarāt and Kathiawār.² About the middle of 1350, when 'Isāmī completed his work, Muḥammad had an enormous army of his own, and in addition, had summoned contingents from Multān, Uch and Sehwān. To add to this immense host, a few months later, he received a reinforcement (under Ultūn Bahādur) of four or five thousand Mughuls from his ally, Amīr Farghān.³

The rebellion of Taghī was practically shattered, and he was reduced to the position of a fugitive, hunted from place to place. Muḥammad might any day turn his mighty cohorts against Bahman Shāh. This seems to have been the main reason why Ḥasan followed a policy of reconciliation and amity with all his neighbours and a course of pardon and mercy with those like Qīr Khān who rebelled against him. All the places he captured up to the middle of 1350 belonged to Muḥammad bin Tughluq or his feudatories like Nārāyan and others. Well-established kingdoms and principalities like Baglāna in the north-west and Telingāna and Vijayanagar, on the east and south respectively, were left almost untouched.

We have definite knowledge that all the events mentioned above, up to the pardoning of Qīr Khān, took place before the 6th Rabī'u 'l-Awwal, 751 A. H. (14th May, 1350 A. D.), on which date 'Isāmī finished his famous work—well within

1. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 143.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

three years of Ḥasan's accession on the 3rd of August, 1347. But, when 'Iṣāmī completed his narration, Kaliyānī and Kōir were still holding out against Bahman Shāh under the heroic Kālay Muḥammad, the erstwhile ally of Qīr Khūn. The Sulṭān of the Deccan laid siege to Kōir. Kālay Muḥammad sallied out several times and attacked the besieging force. On each occasion he was defeated and forced to withdraw into the fort. One day, when he made a sortie, as usual, he was surrounded, one of his hands cut off in the battle, his sallying party defeated, and himself taken prisoner.¹ According to another report he was slain in the battle.² However, by winning one war, Bahman became the master of two impregnable fortresses—Kaliyānī and Kōir.³ No dates are available on which these two forts were occupied by Bahman's forces. Presumably, the task was accomplished during the year 1350 A.D. itself.

Having carved out a respectable and compact kingdom of much more than 50,000 square miles, Bahman Shāh devoted his time to peaceful constructive activities: for any major embroilment on his part would afford an opportunity to Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughluq. The Sulṭān of the Deccan was a great power in that part of India, but he was in constant fear of the Sulṭān of Dihlī, who might, any day, switch on his powerful machinery of war and destruction against the rebel ruler. The power intoxicated tyrant on the throne of Dihlī seems to have haunted Ḥasan's dreams.⁴

Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughluq, chasing Malik Taghī, was bent upon punishing every one who sheltered the dangerous rebel. After having assembled a mighty host under him, he invaded Sind to punish the Jām who had harboured Taghī. His first destination was Tattah. When he was within fourteen leagues of that town, he lay sick and died on the 20th March, 1351.

1. The Burhān, p. 27.

2. Ibid, line 13.

3. Ibid, lines 13 and 14.

4. 'Iṣāmī, p. 579.

The death of the great military genius and tyrant, whose constant dread had been disturbing the mental peace of Ḥasan, and whose death released his conscience of the oath of fealty he had taken to him; the succession to the throne of Dilīlī of the peace-loving and pious Fīrūz; and the adoption of the 'Abbāsīd black canopy' in the hope of ultimate recognition by the Khalīfah², after all, gave Ḥasan the much longed for spiritual and mental rest and assured him of sovereignty over a major part of the Deccan.

Bahman Shāh moved to Gulbargah in the early part of his reign, and it is from there that he commenced the campaign to the south of his kingdom. But he had not effected a formal transfer of the seat of Government to that town accompanied by any special celebration up to the time when 'Iṣāmī finished his account in May, 1350; for the poet, who has given all the details of the reign of his patron up to that time, has not mentioned any ceremony connected with the transfer of the capital.

From the time Ḥasan moved South to tackle the revolt at Sagar, Gulbargah seems to have served as his capital. However, after the reduction of the forts of Kōir and Kaliyānī, Bahman Shāh returned to Gulbargah³ and made it his capital "in spite of the scarcity of water in that town and its insanitary condition".⁴ He repaired the old fort,⁵ constructed stately buildings,⁶ built a Jāmi' Masjid⁷ and renamed the town Aḥsanābād after himself.⁸

1. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 277, line 7. 2. Firishtah, p. 146, lines 18-19.

Later, the puppet 'Abbāsīd Khalīfah at Cairo sent a delegate to Fīrūz Shah Tughluq in the month of *Dhu'l-Hijjah* requesting him to spare Bahman Shāh.

3. The Burhān, p. 27, line 18.

4. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 278, first line.

5. Ibid, line 11.

6. Ibid, line 19.

7. Firishtah Vol. I, p. 278, line 11. 8. Ibid, p. 277, line 8.

The printed copy of Firishtah's work gives the name as Ḥasanābād without the *alif* and quotes a couplet in support. (Vol. I, p. 278, line 11). Those who know the rules of scansion will immediately find out that the second couplet should have the *alif* before Ḥasan without which the measure is incomplete. A large number of coins bear very clearly the word. Aḥsanābād.

The change of capital from Dawlatābād to Gulbargah had a special significance. Even in the days of 'Alā'u 'd-Dīn Khaljī, the town, then called Dēvagiri, was made the base for the southern campaigns. Quṭbu 'd-Dīn Mubārak annexed Dēvagiri and made it the southern outpost of the Empire. Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughluq, after making the rock fort of the town impregnable, adopted it, of course for a short time, as the capital of the vast Tughluq Empire and forced the citizens of Dihlī to migrate to the new capital. Nāṣiru 'd-Dīn Ismā'il Muḥ, the first Sulṭān of the Deccan had made Dawlatābād his capital and it was in the same town that Ḥasan was crowned. Thus by the time of Bahman's accession Dawlatābād had acquired considerable importance. The town had an old Muslim nobility, and in its eye Ḥasan might have appeared an upstart.

Therefore, Ḥasan decided to change his capital to effect a breach with the Dihlī traditions and avoid the machinations of the old nobility.¹ Moreover, Gulbargah had certain advantages over Dawlatābād. For a kingdom comprising the major part of the Deccan plateau, the former town was more centrally placed than the latter and was nearer to the new and vigorous Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagar which had to be watched. Further, Ḥasan's early life in the Deccan was more closely connected with Gulbargah and its adjacent area than the Dawlatābād region.

Ḥasan, feeling secure on the throne, which his good sword had carved out for him, proceeded to celebrate the marriage of his son and heir-apparent, Muḥammad, with Shāh Bēgam, daughter of Qādī Sayfu 'd-Dīn Ghūrī.² Firishtah writes that the celebrations were prolonged for seven months to enable the prince's aunt (Ḥasān's wife's sister) to come from Multān and take part in the happy function.³ After her arrival, it was further continued. So the whole celebration

1. 'Iṣāmī, pp. 558-559.

2. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 277, line 3 from below.

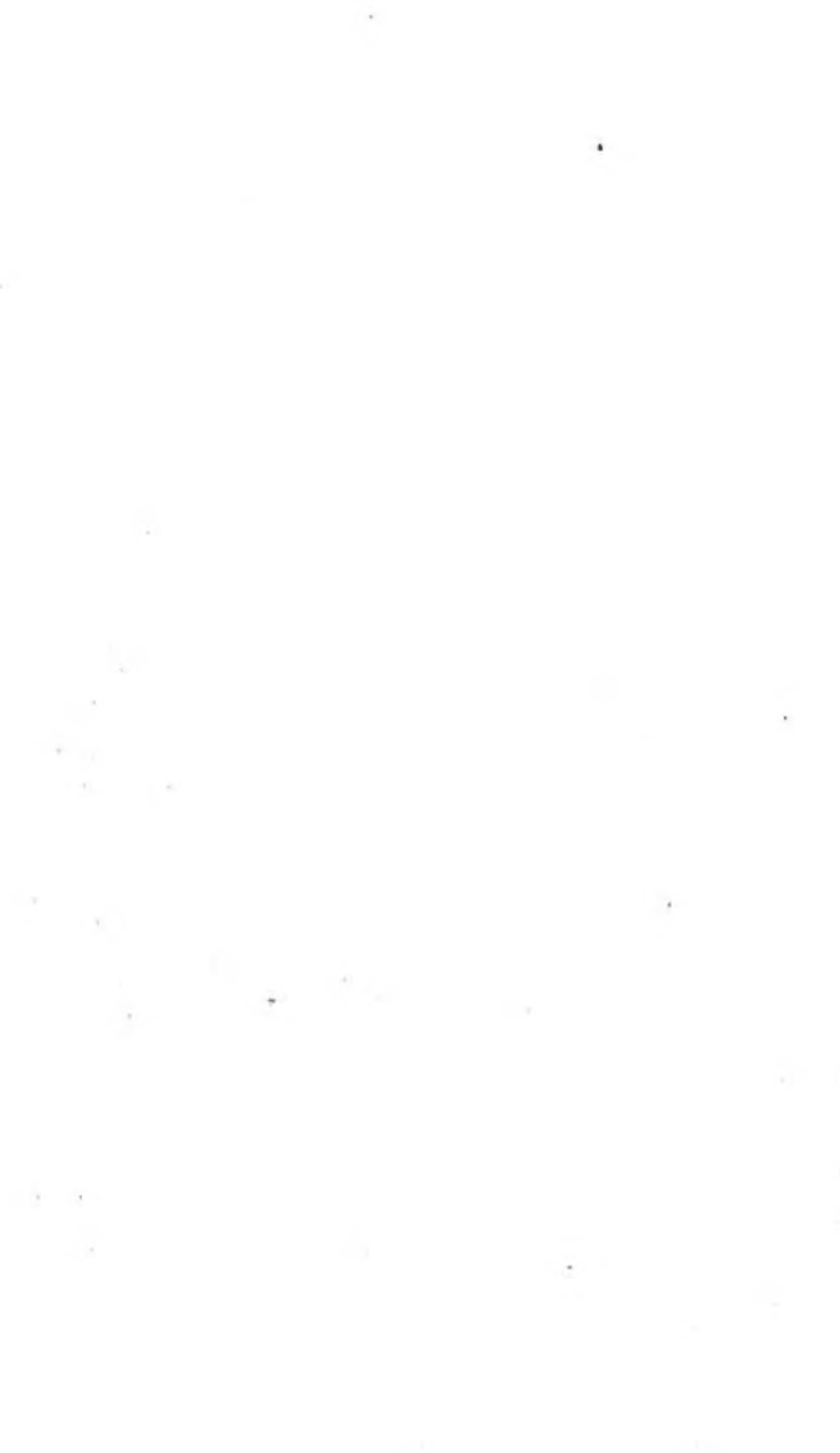
3. Ibid, p. 278.

covered one full year, that is, from the 24th of Rabī' II to the corresponding date in the next year.¹

In spite of the short life of the kingdom, Bahman Shāh distributed ten thousand costly robes, one thousand Arabian and 'Irūqī horses as well as two hundred swords, daggers etc. set with costly gems among his officers, and slaves. Throughout the year, he rained with the help of ballistae (*manjanīqs*), imitations of the various grains of India (presumably made of silver) amidst the population of the town.² Further, right through the period, huge caldrons containing cooked food were sent to the mosques in the metropolis to feed the poor.³ At the end of the festivities Bahman Shāh received very costly presents from his courtiers, officers and others.⁴

'Iṣāmī finished the *Futūḥu 's-Salāṭin* on the 6th of Rabī' u'l-Awwal, 751 A. H. The conquest of the forts of Kaliyānī and Kōir occupied some time. Muḥammad Tughluq died on the 21st Muḥarram, 752, A. H. Firishtah is definite that the marriage of Prince Muḥammad took place after the death of Muḥammad Tughluq.⁵ Hence Bahman Shāh should have celebrated four important events, making his son's marriage the palpable occasion for the festivities—the consolidation of his kingdom, the death of Sulṭān Muḥammad, the establishment of the new capital and the marriage of the heir-apparent (with the two coronation anniversaries to boot) between the 24th Rabī' II, 752 A. H. and the same date of 753 A. H. (20th June, 1351, to 10th June, 1352).

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1. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 277, 6th and 5th lines from below.
 2. Ibid, p. 278, 7th lines from below.
 3. Ibid, 7th and 6th lines from below.
 4. Ibid, 5th and 4th lines from below.
 5. Ibid, lines 12—13.



CHAPTER VI

SOUTH INDIA AT THE TIME OF BAHMAN SHĀH'S ACCESSION

The immediate neighbours of Bahman Shāh at the time of his accession were Baglāna, a small Rājput state on the north-west, the region now known as Khāndēsh under Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughluq's officers on the north and north-east, Eastern Telingāna ruled over by Kāpaya Nāidū on the east, and Vijayanagar under Harihara I (Hariappa) on the south. On the west, there were several petty rulets of ports and their adjacent districts. Further south, Ma'bar (Tamilnāḍ) was under a Muslim Sulṭān, and there were a few principalities of more or less account on the eastern coast.

BAGLANA

Baglāna or Baglān is a fertile tract now represented by the Baglān and Kalvān *ta'alluqahs*, north of the Satmāla Hills, in the Nāsik district. It had been ruled by Rāthōr princes and possessed seven fortresses, two of which, Mulher and Salher, were noted for their strength. This Rājput state had been paying tribute to the Yādavas of Dēvagiri and after the annexation of their kingdom, to the Sulṭān of Dihlī. The rulers of this principality assumed the honorific title of Baharjī. The country became independent of Dihlī after the revolt of the Deccan which led to the establishment of the Bahmanī kingdom. The rāja of Baglāna, at the time of the revolt, was Mān Singh Baharjī (Mān Dēv).¹ When a few of the leaders of the revolt in Gujarāt, defeated by the generals of Muḥammad bin Tughluq, escaped on bare-backed horses to Baglāna, the rāja imprisoned them and took from them such cash and jewels as they succeeded in carrying off with them. When the rebellion was at its height, the prisoners in Baglāna escaped with the connivance of the ruler,² and joined their comrades at Dawlatābād.

1. 'Iṣāmī, p. 522, line, 3.

2. Ibid, p, 522, line 8.

GUJARAT AND KHANDESH

Gujarāt and the region later called Khāndūsh were held by the Commanders of Muḥammad bin Tughluq, and at the coronation of Bahman Shāh, the terrible Sulṭān of Dihlī was himself in the vicinity of these areas campaigning against Malik Taghī.

WARANGAL

On the east, the Kākatiya rule was destroyed by Prince Muḥammad bin Tughluq in the year 1323. But later—it is not possible to ascertain the date—some local chieftain asserted his independence in that region. "Prolaya Nāyaka was the first Telugu chief to rule the coastal region of the Āndhra country independently during the post-Kākatiya period. His cousin and successor, Kāpaya Nāyaka, made Warangal his capital after its re-conquest and ruled the country for about thirty years,"¹ Kāpaya Nāyaka belonged to the Musunurī family and was the son of Dēvaya Nāyaka who was the brother of Prolaya Nāyaka's father, Pocaya Nāyaka.² Thus Kāpaya was Prolaya's paternal uncle's son.

We come to know from the Prolavaram grant³ that Kāpaya Nāyaka was ruling from Warangal in 1346 A.D. either as "the king of Warangal or the Wālī of Telingāna".⁴ So the ruler of Telingāna who helped Ḥasan Gangawī against Sartīz was Kāpaya Nāyaka, the "Kāpā Nāidū"⁵ of 'Iṣāmī.

The post-Kākatiya kingdom of Telingāna was roughly bounded on the north-west, north and north-east by the Gōdāvarī, on the south-east it was bounded by the Bay of Bengal, and on the south by the new kingdom of Vijayanagar. The kingdom of Warangal and Vijayanagar seem to have had a common boundary along the river Krishna.

On the east, to the south of the Warangal kingdom, there was a young and vigorous Reddy principality stretching along

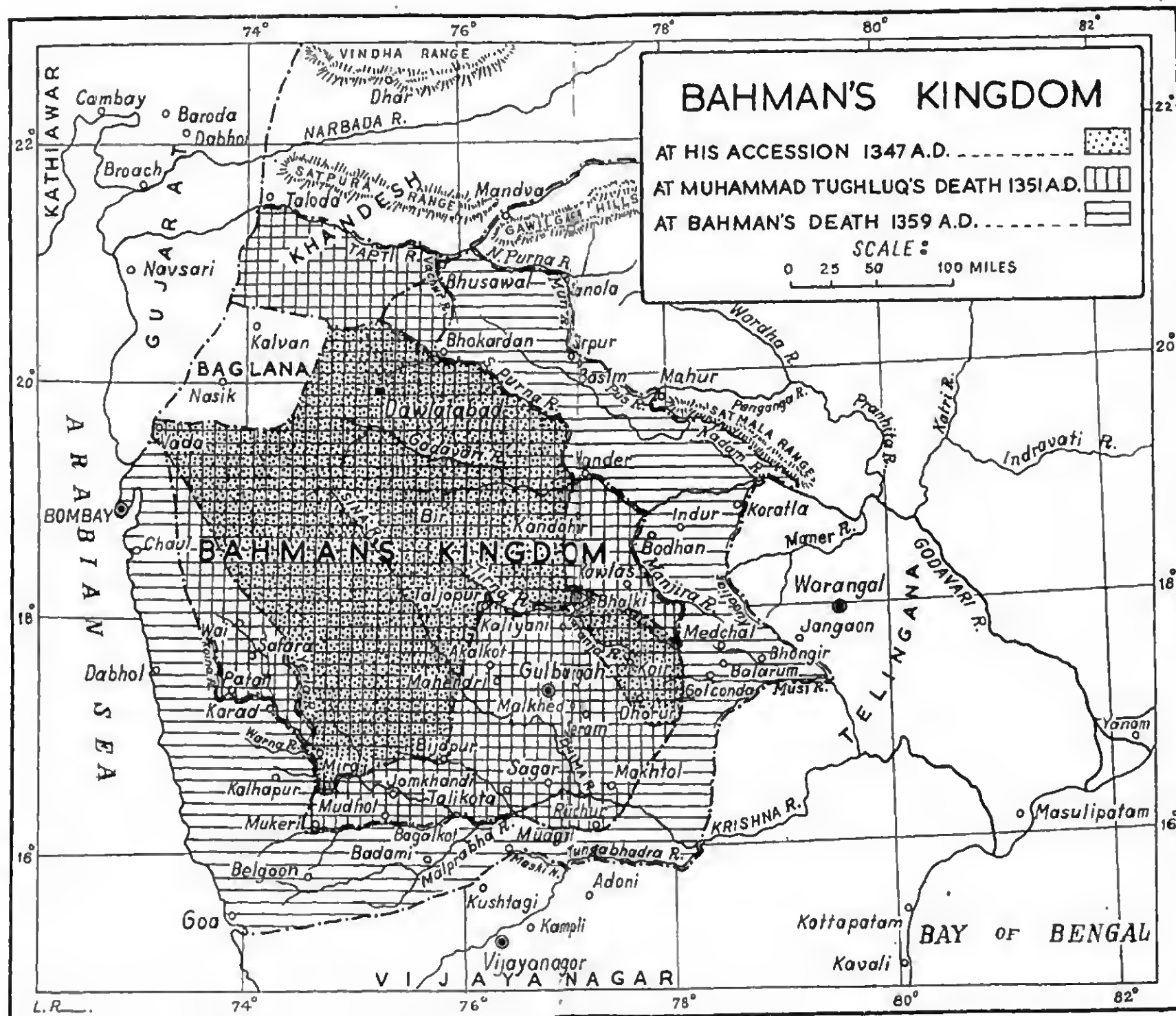
1. M. Somasekhara Sarma: *A Forgotten Chapter of Āndhra History*, (Madras, 1945), p. II.

2. Ibid, p. 45.

4. Ibid.

3. Ibid, p. 56.

5. 'Iṣāmī, p. 565.



the coast, south of the Krishna, up to the northern limits of Ma'bar near Nellore. But the northern districts of Ma'bar (known as the Tondamandalam) were no longer under the rule of the Sultān of Madura. The inscriptions of Venru-mankonda Sambuvarāya clearly show that the Tondamandalam had been conquered by the Sambuvarāya from the Sultān of Madura much earlier than the accession of Bahman Shāh.¹ The southern limit of the Sambuvarāya's kingdom does not seem to have reached the South Arcot District. Vijayanagar had not yet reached the Bay of Bengal. Hence, at the time of Bahman's accession, the coastal strip on the east between Yanam and Cape Comorin seems to have been divided between four kingdoms—those of Warangal, the Reddis, the Sambuvarāya and the Sultān of Madura.

THE SALTANAT OF MADURA

Even before the advent of Islam, Arabs had established small settlements on both the coasts of South India and the Pāndya, Kērala and Chola rulers had provided them with all facilities. Islam, which gave an impetus to commercial enterprises, brought a larger number of Muslims—Arabs and Turks. The north Indian Muslims first invaded Ma'bar under 'Alī 'u 'd-Dīn Khaljī and then under his son, Muhārak Shāh. It was finally annexed to the Empire of Dīhlī during the reign of Sultān Ghiyāthu 'd-Dīn Tughluq in 1323, and Parākrama Pāndya was carried away to Dīhlī as a prisoner.³

Muḥammad bin Tughluq appointed one Sharīf Jalālu 'd-Dīn, who had been a general of his army, as the Kotwāl⁴ or Governor⁵ of Madura. He was loyal to his master for some years⁶ and then taking advantage of Muḥammad's difficulties, proclaimed his independence in 1333 A.D. (734 A.H.)⁷ at

1. Journal of Madras University, Vol. XI, No. 1, page 65.

2. The history of the Sultanate of Madura is given by me in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Pakistan Vol. II (Dacca, 1957) pp. 90-130.

3. Journal of the Madras University, Vol. XI, No. 1, p. 42.

4. 'Isāmī, p. 469, first line.

5. Ibn Battūṭah, Vol. III, p. 328, line 4.

6. Cambridge History of India, Vol. III, p. 488.

7. J.A.S.B., Plate IV, figure 6 (not read by Rodgers but read by me): Indian Atiquary, Vol. 31, p. 232, Coin No. 13. See also the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Pakistan Vol. II (Dacca, 1957), pp. 92-93.

Madura under the title of Jalālu 'd-Dīn Aḥsan Shāh and struck gold and silver coins in his own name.

When Muḥammad heard that his lieutenant at Madura had revolted, he left for Southern India to punish him. The Sulṭān's first destination in the Deccan was Dēvagirī where he spent some time collecting the dues and punishing the recalcitrants. From there he marched to Warangal where a pestilence broke out in his camp and carried away some of his trusted officers. The Sulṭān himself was subjected to an attack of the dangerous disease.¹ Hence he left Malik Maqbūl, Nā'ib Wazīr, at Warangal and himself returned to Dawlatābād (Dēvagirī) and thence to Dihlī never to regain Ma'bar. Ibn Baṭṭūṭah had reported a *dīnār* of Aḥsan Shāh with its legend, but that has not yet been recovered. Several other coins of the Sulṭān are available, the latest of which is dated 738 A. H. No details of his reign are available to us from any source. Ibn Baṭṭūṭah writes: "Then he was killed and one of his nobles, 'Alā'u 'd-Dīn Udayjī, was made the ruler."²

We have a coin³ of 'Alā'u 'd-Dīn bearing the date 740 A.H. (1339-40 A.D.). His reign began in 739 A.H., but we do not possess a coin bearing that year. Ibn Baṭṭūṭah writes, "In the first year of his reign, he set out on an expedition to wage war against the infidels. He took from them great wealth and extensive booty and returned back to his country. He again fought against them in the second year, and after defeating them, killed a large number of them. It so happened that on the day of the battle, when he removed the helmet to drink water, a stray arrow struck his head, and he died on the spot".⁴ This passage clearly establishes that 'Alā'u 'd-Dīn ruled during two years. He ruled for a part of 739 A. H. and a portion of 740 A. H. (1339-40 A. D.).

We have coins of two Sulṭāns ('Alā'u 'd-Dīn and Quṭbu 'd-Dīn) bearing the date 740 A.H.⁵ Therefore, it is quite

1. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 137.

2. Ibn Baṭṭūṭah, Vol. IV, p. 189.

3. J.A.S.B., 1895, Plate IV, Fig. 8.

4. Ibn Baṭṭūṭah, Vol. IV, p. 190.

5. J.A.S.B., 1895, Plate IV, Figs. 8 and 9.

evident that 'Alā'u 'd-Dīn was killed in 740 A. H., and his son-in-law, Quṭbu 'd-Dīn Fīrūz Shāh, succeeded him in the same year. Ibn Baṭṭūṭah writes that after a reign of forty days Quṭbu 'd-Dīn was killed by his own nobles as they did not like his conduct.¹ On the death of Sulṭān Quṭbu 'd-Dīn, the throne was seized by an ex-trooper of Muḥammad bin Tughluq who assumed the title of Ghiyāthu 'd-Dīn Dāmghān Shāh. He was a son-in-law of Jalālu 'd-Dīn, the founder of the kingdom. Ibn Baṭṭūṭah, paints the Sulṭān as a cruel and treacherous man.²

During the days of this Sulṭān, Vīra Ballāla III, the Hōysāla king, had conquered a large part of the Saṭanāt. A battle was fought between the two forces near the town of Kuppam in which the Sulṭān was defeated and forced to retreat to Madura. Vīra Ballāla's forces were besieging Kuppam and the rāja himself was camping near Kāyalpattinam when the Sulṭān surprised his camp, took him captive, extracted from him as much wealth as he could and finally executed him.³ Having destroyed Vīra Ballāla, "the most persistent and dangerous of his enemies," Ghiyāthu 'd-Dīn engaged himself in extending his territories. Several coins of Sulṭān Ghiyāthu 'd-Dīn Dāmghān have been recovered and the latest of his known coins bears the date 744 A. H.⁴ We have a coin of his successor Nāṣiru 'd-Dīn with the date 745 A. H.⁵ Ghiyāthu 'd-Dīn died about the year 745 A. H. (1343-44 A. D.) and was succeeded by his brother's son (his own son-in-law), Nāṣiru 'd-Dīn, who assumed the title of Mahmūd Ghāzī Dāmghān.⁶ This Sulṭān was ruling over Ma'bar at the time of the accession of Bahman Shāh.

As to the extent of the Saṭanāt of Madura, although we may not be able to say much about it with certainty, we have a number of relevant facts on our hand which will be helpful. At the initial stage the Saṭanāt consisted of the entire

1. Ibn Baṭṭūṭah, Vol. IV, p. 190.

2. Ibid, pp. 192-193.

3. Ibid, p. 198.

4. Numismatic Chronicle series V, Vol. IV, Plate VIII, Fig. 13.

5. J.R.A.S., 1909, p. 678.

6. Ibn Baṭṭūṭah, Vol. IV, p. 200.

province of Ma'bar. We have evidence on record to show that Sulṭān 'Alā'u 'd-Dīn Udawjī had campaigns outside his kingdom though the extent of the territory to which he succeeded and the direction in which the campaigns were undertaken are not given by our sole authority, Ibn Baṭṭūṭah.¹

The area mostly covered by the province of Ma'bar (in the early thirties of the 14th century) was called 'Tamilakam' in ancient days. "The earliest tradition fixed the northern boundary of Tamilakam on the east coast at Pulicat, a little above Madras, and on the west coast at the white rock near Badagara, to the south of Mābe, the frontier line between these two points passing (east to west) round the hill of Venkata or Tirupati, a hundred miles to the north-west of Madras, and then inclining southward to Badagra.² Later traditions extended the north-eastern boundary on to the North Pennār River³ and the north-western limit to the Chandragiri River, south of Mangalore."⁴ Waṣṣāf, who wrote during the early decades of the 14th century⁵ says: "Its extent from the limits of Kullam to the district of Nellore is about three hundred *farsang*⁶ the entire length having sea-coast."⁷ The boundaries of Ma'bar during the 14th century seem to have been conterminous with those of Tamilakam. It is no surprise that Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughluq, who had much political genius in him, constituted the southern province on a linguistic basis.

Jalālu 'd-Dīn Aḥsan Shāh, who was the Governor of Muḥammad for several years before he rebelled, must have constituted his entire province into an independent kingdom. Of course, the inviolability, which Ma'bar should have enjoyed as a province of the mighty Salṭanat of Dihlī, could not

1. Ibn Baṭṭūṭah, Vol. IV, p. 189.

2. *The Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years Ago*, pp. 10 and 17-18.

3. Elliot: *Coins of Southern India*, p. 108.

4. The Chandragiri is the boundary between the Kērala and the Tuluva country, V. A. Smith, p. 396.

5. Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III, p. 24.

6. A *farsang* is equal to 3½ English miles.

7. Waṣṣāf, Manuscript (Ma'bar); Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III, p. 32.

have been vouched to it long after it became an independent kingdom. The kings and chieftains of the Deccan might have seized the opportunity, offered by the estrangement between Dihli and Madura, to extend their own territories or to carve out new kingdoms and principalities.

The power which made serious inroads into the territory of the Saṭṇat up to 1442 was the Hōysāla kingdom under its ruler, Vīra Ballāla III. He is known to have occupied Tiruvannāmalai¹ in the South Arcot District, besieged Kuppam (Kubbān),² eight or nine miles from Trichinopoly, and held Kāyalpattinam on the eastern coast of the Tinnevely district near which seaport he was defeated and taken captive.³ Thus, in the early forties the size of the Saṭṇat of Madura should have dwindled considerably, comprising the modern districts of Madura and Ramnād, a major part of the district of Tinnevely and parts of Trichinopoly and Tanjore districts, covering most of the original Pāndya kingdom and certain parts of the Chōla region.

When Ibn Baṭṭūṭah disembarked on the coast of Ma'bar, Ghiyāthu 'd-Dīn Dāmghān Shāh was subjugating an area near a fort, the name of which the traveller gives as Harkātu⁴ at a distance of two days' journey on a palanquin from the place of landing. Where Ibn Baṭṭūṭah landed is not known. He did not land at Fattan (Pattinam) on the east coast; for he went to that port later. Defremery and Sanguinetti, the translators of Ibn Baṭṭūṭah, identify Harkātū with Arcot.¹

There is no material available to find out how much territory the Sultāns of Madura, especially Ghiyāthu 'd-Dīn Dāmghān Shāh and his successor, Nāṣiru 'd-Dīn, were able to add to their kingdom after the collapse of the Hōysāla kingdom in 1342. According to Ibn Baṭṭūṭah, the former had under him only 6,000 soldiers, one half of them being worthless. With such a small army (of course, in addition to the

1. *Epi. Carnatica* IX, D, b. 14,

2. Ibn Baṭṭūṭah, Vol. IV, p. 196.

3. Ibn Baṭṭūṭah, Vol. IV, p. 197.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 188.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 188, line 9 of the French translation.

garrisons of the towns and frontier posts) and the further supply of soldiers from the north cut off, what extent of territory he could have added need not be surmised. Moreover, Ghiyāthu 'd-Dīn was not spared for many years after his great victory over Vīra Ballāla. Mahmūd Dāmghān had sat on the throne only for three years when the coronation of Bahman Shāh took place. He started his reign in an atmosphere of suspicion and hate resulting in his putting to death some of the leading nobles of the kingdom. Hence, there is no room to think that he could have accomplished much by way of conquest and expansion within a short span of three or four years, for he was surrounded by a court which was not friendly. Besides, the rising sons of Sangama—the five brothers who founded the kingdom of Vijayanagar—were already active in the field and would not have allowed the Sultāns of Madura to gain much territory after the fall of the Hōysāla kingdom. The northern districts of Ma'bar had already passed under the sway of the Sambuvarāya.

From the meagre details available to us, and studying the physical features of the country, we can conjecture that at the time of Bahman's accession the Salṭanat of Ma'bar was bounded on the north and north-east by a line (with dents and bulges, big and small) joining Markanam on the east coast, Tiruvannāmalai, Yercaud, Erode, Udamalpet, Gūdalūr, Shencōttah and Cape Comorin. Thus, at the time of Bahman Shāh's accession, Ma'bar was still a powerful state having just a few years before crushed the powerful Hōysāla kingdom to dust. It was ruled over by Nāṣīru 'd-Dīn Maḥmūd Dāmghān Shāh.

THE HOYSALA KINGDOM

Before 1342, the Hōysāla, ruler, Vīra Ballāla's, kingdom was quite a large one, sprawling between the Salṭanat of Madura in the south and the young and fast-growing kingdom of Vijayanagar in the north. With Dvārasamudra as the capital, its northern limit reached the Tungabhadra River, and on the

south, the frontiers of the kingdom ran along most of the shrunken frontiers of the *Salṭanat* touching *Tiruvannāmalai*, *Trichinopoly* and *Kāyalpattinam*.

The sudden defeat and subsequent death of *Vīra Ballāla* at the hands of the *Sulṭān* of *Madura* dealt a crushing blow to the powerful kingdom. Still it did not go without an heir. The old ruler's son, *Vīra Ballāla IV*, succeeded his father and was crowned at *Dvārasamudra* on Friday, ba. 5, *Sravana Saka* 1265 (1343-44 A.D.).¹ According to Dr. S. *Krishnaswāmi Aiyangār*, *Vīra Ballāla IV* took up the quarrel and carried on the struggle with the *Sulṭāns* of *Madura* "for the next two or three years."² The same author holds that he was killed in 1345 and *Satyanārāyaṇa*, writes that he died in 1346. Dr. *Venkataramanayya* is of the opinion that the "assertion that *Ballāla IV* ruled until 1346 A.D. is based on a misconception. *Epi. Carnatica* Bn 120, which is usually cited in support of this assertion, does not refer to the reign of *Ballāla IV*, but alludes to a past event which had taken place in the time of *Ballālarāya*."³ There is epigraphic evidence to show that he was ousted from his kingdom by *Harihara I* of *Vijayanagar* three months after his coronation in the month of *Karttika* of the same year.⁴

Whether *Ballāla* was ousted from his kingdom soon after his coronation or much later, he did not die in the year 1345 or 1346. According to *ʿIṣāmī*, he fled from *Kahāripatan*⁵ in the west coast to a mountain when *Bahman Shāh* invaded that town some time after he ascended the throne.⁶ The passage of *ʿIṣāmī* suggests that he was ruling in that area and had soldiers under him.

"Elated, march'd he to the Pattan fort,
Balāl, on being warn'd by an army scout,
Vacating Pattan to a mountain fled :
To Pattan, thereaft'r, Bahman's force was led."⁷

1. *Epi. Carnatica*, VI, C. m. 105.

2. *Aiyangār*, pp. 179-80.

3. *Journal of the Madras University*, Vol. XI, No. 1, p. 52, f n. No. 2.

4. *Epi. Carnatica*, V A, k. 159.

5. *The Burhān*, p. 25, line 10.

6. *ʿIṣāmī*, p. 597.

7. *Ibid*, p. 597, lines 2 and 3.

It is probable that after he was ousted from his ancestral kingdom by the rāja of Vijayanagar, he fled north and either carved out a small principality for himself or governed over the area of Kabārīpatan as a Wālī of the Sultān of Dihlī. Thus, we find that Vīra Ballāla IV¹ was alive and active in 1349,² three years after 1346, the latest year in which he is considered to have died. It is likely that he lived for some more time. For all practical purposes the Hōysāla kingdom was completely wiped out and the only two kingdoms of any account, south of Bahman's territory, were the Salāṭnat of Ma'har in the extreme south and the powerful kingdom of Vijayanagar.

VIJAYANAGAR

At the time of Bahman's coronation in 1347, Vijayanagar was a powerful kingdom ruled over by Harihara I. Its territory had touched the Arabian Sea on the West and possibly the Tondamandalam and the Reddi kingdom on the East. On the north, the territory extended beyond the Tungahhadra. Even the country around Bādāmī in the Bijāpūr district is reported to have been under the rule of Harihara as early as 1340.³ On the east, Kampana held sway over the Nellore district and fortified Udayagiri. On the south, the sons of Sangama, stepping into the shoes of the Hōysālas, had advanced their territory as far as the northern frontier of Ma'har. On the west, Vijayanagar embraced the Konkon and exacted tribute from (Hinawar), Onore or Honnavara,⁴ which was under the rule of Shaykh Jamālu 'd-Dīn.

With these states around him and having carved out and consolidated (by 1352) a big kingdom for himself, Bahman Shāh started his career of further conquests.

1. The identity of the chieftain is liable to doubt, but we may presume that, if it had been any one other than Ballāla IV, 'Iṣāmī would have indicated it and he would not have written in such a familiar way.

2. 'Iṣāmī finished his account in May, 1350, and the flight of Ballāla IV is one of the latest events reported by the author. Moreover, Bahman Shāh who ascended the throne in 1347 is reported to have collected two years' tribute from the tributary chieftains before he attacked Kabārīpatan.

3. *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. X, p. 63. 4. *Ibn Baṭṭūṭah*, Vol. IV, p. 68.

CHAPTER VII BAHMAN'S CONQUESTS

As we have already seen, Bahman had consolidated his kingdom before the death of Muḥammad bin Tughluq and provided it with natural frontiers having the Tapti on the north, the South Purna on the south-east, the Gōdāvarī and the Mānjira on the east, the Krishna and the Ghātprabha on the south and the Western Ghāts on the west.

The northern boundary of Bahman's kingdom commenced in the west at the point where the eastern frontier of Gujarāt crossed the Tapti south of Taloda, a few miles to the east of the 74th parallel longitude, and proceeded eastward along the southern bank of that river to its junction with the Vāghur, a few miles to the north-west of Bhusāwal. Then marching southward along the Vāghur and further south of it, the boundary line linked up with the South Purna to the west of Bhokardan, and following the course of that river to its confluence with the Godāvarī to the west of Nānder, it proceeded along the Godāvarī to its junction with the Mānjira River. The eastern boundary of the kingdom was marked by a part of the South Purna, a portion of the Godāvarī and the Mānjira to the southernmost bend of the last mentioned river to the east of Kōir. From there, the frontier line coursed southward to the Mūsi River, and further taking a south-westerly course, reached the Krishna to the east of Makhtal. Thence, crossing the Krishna, the southern boundary line of Bahman's kingdom rounded the town of Rāichūr and proceeded northward to join the Krishna and followed its northern bank (in the west bound course of the boundary line) to its junction with the Ghātprabha. Then it followed the northern bank of the Ghātprabha to Hukayrī and proceeded north to join the bend of the River Krishna to the south of Miraj. From there it followed the Krishna and then the Koina River to the vicinity of Satāra and thence proceeded further north to terminate at Vada. Thus in 1351, Bahman's kingdom sprawled west to east from the proximity of Bombay

to Kandahār, a distance of about 260 miles and north to south from the Tapti to the Krishna more than 300 miles, covering an area of about 50,000 square miles of the Deccan. (Please see the map).¹

By the year 1352 A.D. Bahman Shah had carved out a large kingdom and consolidated it. He had established his new capital at Gulbargah and subdued all the rebellions in his kingdom. Rebels like Muḥammad bin 'Ālim and Qīr Khān were pardoned and those who were discontented won over by generosity and liberality. Therefore, "rebellion never again raised its head during Bahman's reign."² Having thus placed his kingdom on a firm basis, Bahman Shāh thought of expanding it.

Between 1352 and the death of Bahman Shāh in 1359 he is reported to have undertaken five campaigns. The first expedition to the north-east of his kingdom led to the subjugation of Mandva³ in the north (on the Tapti 20 miles to the north-east of Burhānpūr), Māhūr⁴ in the east (within the bend of the Penganga at the 78th Parallel Longitude) and the area enclosed by the North Purna River, the Pus River, the Satmala Range, the Gōdāvarī River and the South Purna River. He led his second campaign into the Konkan which resulted in the conquest of the coastal strip between Gna⁵ and Chaul⁶ and added a good slice of territory to the south-west of his kingdom. The third expedition was into Telingāna which engaged Bahman Shāh for nearly a year⁷ and culminated in the subjugation of the country between Kōir and Bhongīr⁷ and some territory in the south-east. The fourth expedition

1. The Cambridge History of India, Vol. III, p. 375.

2. The Burhān gives the name of the place as Mandu (which lies too far to be thought of). Evidently the *Alif* was omitted by the scribe, page 27, last line. See Appendix 'D'.

3. The Burhān, p. 27, last but one line.

4. Ibid p. 28, line 9.

5. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 277, line 7 from below.

6. The Burhān, p. 28, line 17.

7. Ibid, line 18.

was despatched against the Hindu chieftains of northern Carnatic and brought in the submission of that area and an immense booty.¹ The fifth was the invasion of Gujarāt which had to be abandoned after reaching Nāvsārī² due to the illness of the Sulṭān which proved fatal.

Launching his first campaign, Bahman crossed the south Purna and proceeded towards the town of Bhokardan³ (about 10 miles to the east of Assaye) on the other side of the river. On the approach of the Sulṭān, the ruler of that place sent a sum of 300,000 *tankahs* and promised to pay tribute every year. Thereafter, Bahman Shah proceeded to Māhūr⁴, which offered an enormous amount and acknowledged the suzerainty of the Sulṭān of the Deccan.. From there Bahman marched north-west and captured the key town of Mandva⁵, at the junction of the Tapti with the North Purna River, commanding the gap between the Satpura Range and the Gawilgarh Hills. This marked the end of the first campaign and the subjugation of a large part of Berar.

Bahman returned to Aḥsanābād (Gulbargah), and after taking some rest, marched into the Konkan, in which country, after capturing Goa⁶, he marched northward along the coast and took Dābhōl.⁷ On his return journey, he marched by way of Kalhār⁸ (Karād, Karhād) and Kolhāpūr⁹ both of which towns with their dependencies he seized from their Hindu rulers and came back to Aḥsanābād.¹⁰

Bahman Shāh enjoyed a period of repose. Then he decided to lead a campaign into Telingāna. As we have already seen in Chapter I, Kāpaya Nāidū had helped Bahman

1. Firishtah, Vol. I p. 280, lines 3 seqq.

2. Ibid, line 15.

3. The Burhān, p. 17, line 4 from below.

4. Ibid, last but one line.

5. Ibid, last line.

6. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 277, line 7: The Burhān, p. 21, line 9.

7. The Burhān, p. 28, line 10.

8. Ibid, p. 28, line 11.

9. Ibid.

10. The printed copy of the Burhān-i-Ma'āthir gives the name wrongly as Ahmādābād in two consecutive lines, p. 28, lines 11 and 12.

Shāh with a contingent of 15,000 horse when the later, as Zafar Khān, was preparing to meet Sartīz in battle¹. The rāja should have rendered this help in the hope that the victory of the rebels against Muḥammad bin Tughluq would leave him free to consolidate and extend his kingdom. But soon after Bahman ascended the throne, the rāja had cause to think that his expectation was wrong. We have already noticed how Sikandar Khān invaded the dominions of Kāpaya, and taking him unawares, forced him to sign a treaty after ceding Kawlās with its dependencies to the Sulṭān of the Deccan².

The new kingdom, if it was not to suffer a collapse, had to expand. On the west the sea was reached. On the north lay the Empire of Dihlī, on the south the powerful Vijayanagar kingdom and on the east Telingāna. Of the three possible victims of Bahman's aggression Telingāna was the weakest, and hence the most tempting, although the rāja of Telingāna had been paying tribute regularly.³ After finishing the western campaign and taking some rest, he led an expedition into Telingāna. In the words of the *Burhān-i-Ma'āthir*, "He, desiring to conquer Telingāna and earn renown, issued orders that the mighty army should move in that direction. Accordingly, the victorious army assembled and marched towards Telingāna. The Sulṭān sent in advance a number of his officers as raiders⁴ to devastate the country of the infidels whilst he himself followed behind. For nearly a year he campaigned in Telingāna and having conquered the district of Bhongīr, he demolished the temples and instead of them built mosques and *madrasahs*. He, who offered submission and consented to pay tribute, was received into the circle of the Sulṭān's subordinates and his people were spared all excesses at the hands of the invading army. He, who held his head erect and refused to obey the Sulṭān, failed to see the next day. When he had completed the subjugation of Telingāna, he returned to his capital."⁵

1. *Firishtah*, Vol. I, p. 276.

3. *Firishtah*, Vol. I, p. 280, line 3.

5. *Ibid*, p. 28.

2. *‘Isāmī*, pp. 64, seqq.

4. *The Burhān*, p. 28, line 16.

The date of his second invasion of Telingāna is not given anywhere. "But it is possible to ascertain it roughly. The Pillalamarri inscription¹ of Kāpaya Nāyaka dated June 2nd, 1357 A.D., alludes to this invasion. It records that Kāpaya Nāyak's subordinate named Eṇapotu, Governor of Pillamarri, reconsecrated the idol of god Erakēśvaradēva, which was desecrated and broken by Sultān 'Alā'u 'd-Dīn during the invasion, for the merit of his sovereign Kāpaya Nāyaka and of his parents Anumakonda Mācaya Nāyaka and Rudrasāni. This consecration ceremony must have been done at least some four or five months after the restoration of peace in the country subsequent to the invasion. 'Azīzullah² states that 'Alā'u 'd-Dīn was in Telingāna for nearly a year. So it may be concluded that 'Alā'u 'd-Dīn started on this campaign about the end of the year 1355 A.D. and was in Telingāna during the year 1356 A.D.³

I do not agree with the statement that the campaign began about the end of the year 1355 and lasted the whole or major part of 1356, for Bahman set out to invade Malwah in July-August 1356 (Sha'bān A. H. 758).⁴ The Telingāna campaign preceded the intended Malwah expedition, and between them the Carnatic expedition took place. After his return from the Telingana campaign which had lasted one year, he would have given to the soldiers at least a few months' rest and the Carnatic expedition should have occupied a few months more. Therefore the Telingāna campaign could not have ended much later than the early months of 1356. Since the campaign is reported to have lasted one year, it must have begun in early 1355 A. D., and not about the end of that year. Hence the reconsecration of the desecrated temple which was undertaken in June, 1357 A. D., took place after more than a year from the time of the withdrawal of the invaders.

1. A Corpus of Inscriptions in the Telingāna District of the Nizām's Dominions, No. 40, pp. 113 seqq.

2. 'All bin 'Azīzullah.

3. A Forgotten Chapter of Andhra History by M. Somasekhara Sarma (Madras, 1945), pp 82-83

4. Firishṭah, Vol. I, p. 280, line 6.

Concerning this campaign. Mr. Somasēkhara Sarma writes: "That this campaign, of 'Alauddin was a very extensive one and that he overran the Telugu country as far as the coast, is known from references to this invasion in the records of the Reddi kings of Kondavidu. The invasion of the *Yavanas* from the west, alluded to in the Amaravati inscription¹ of Anavota, son of Prolaya Vema, the founder of the Reddi kingdom of Kondavidu might be the same as the second invasion of 'Alauddin Hasan Shah into Telingana. During this incursion god Ameresvaradeva in Dhanyavati (Dhanya Kataka or Amaravati) also was desecrated by the Muslims, as was done at Pillalamarri, and the Amaravati inscription of Anavota was set up to record the reconsecration ceremony of that god by his minister Ketaya Vema who is said to have defeated the *Yavanas* (*Mussalmans*). There is yet another record of the Reddi kings, the Pedapudi grant² of Komati Reddi, son of Maca Reddi dated Saka 1326 or 1404 A. D. which directly refers to 'Alauddin. It explicitly states that Malla Reddi brother of Prolaya Vema Reddi defeated 'Alauddin in battle. These two records conclusively prove that 'Alauddin invaded the country as far as the coastal region and was defeated and driven back by the Reddi kings of Kondavidu."³ In an unpublished copper-plate charter of Sivalinga Reddi, a descendant of Malla dated 1413 A.D. it is claimed that Malla defeated 'Alā'u 'd-Dīn and the *Turushka* warriors.⁴

There are some difficulties in granting that Bahman Shāh advanced as far as the Reddi kingdom and that he was defeated in a major or pitched battle. Firstly, the Pedapudi grant and that of Sivalinga Reddi are documents which came into existence about half a century after Bahman Shāh's expedition and sometimes imaginary victories are attributed to one's ancestors or small successes in skirmishes and raids

1. South Indian Inscriptions, Vol. VI, No. 226.

2. Mackenzie Manuscripts No. 15-4-42.

3. A Forgotten Chapter of Andhra History by pp. 82-84.

4. Epi. Indica, Vol. XXVI, 1941-42, p. 25.

magnified into great victories. Secondly, 'Alī bin 'Azīzillāh¹ states that the farthest point reached by Bahman Shāh was Bhongīr. Thirdly, if the Reddi chieftains had succeeded in defeating Bahman Shāh in a major battle, they would have exploited their success and advanced towards the west. There is no evidence to show that the Reddi kingdom expanded westward in any large measure about this time. Fourthly, if Bahman Shāh had been defeated by the Hindu chieftains in a major engagement on the east, he would not have ventured on an expedition to Malwah¹ which was under the Sultān of Dīhlī exposing his flank to be attacked by the Hindu chieftains who had already defeated him.

For the reasons mentioned above I hold that if at all Malla repulsed any of the forces of Bahman Shāh, it should have been one of the raiding parties sent by the Sultān² deep into the enemy territory far removed from the Sultān's camp at Bhongīr. The contemporary epigraph³ in the temple of Amerūsvara at Amerāvati in the Guntūr District bears out my conclusion when it describes how Ketaya Vema repulsed the Muslim cavalry.

Another record mentions that Bhakti Rāja defeated Dabru Khānu at Pedakonda in the Bhadrāchalam taluq of the East Godāvāri district.⁴ It is sometimes regarded that the Dabru Khānu whom Bhakti Rāja defeated, was Bahman Shāh who had held the title of Zafar Khān before he became the Sultān of the Deccan.⁵ Dr. Venkataramanayya thinks that Zafar Khān whom Bhakti Rāja is reported to have defeated might have been Zafar Khān, the pretender to the throne of Lakhnūtī who appears to have accompanied the Dīhlī forces of Firūz Shāh which attacked Jājnagar in 1360 A.D. Zafar Khān might

1. The Burhān, p. 26, line 18.

2. Firishtah, Vol. I, page 280, line 8.

3. The Burhān, p. 28, lines 16 and 17.

4. South Indian Inscriptions, Vol. VI, No. 226.

5. Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XXVI, 1941-42, p. 25.

6. Sherwānī, p. 74, foot-note 45.

have pursued the rāja of Jājnagar who fled southwards and got defeated by Bhakti Rāja.¹ This explanation appears more reasonable than granting that Bahman Shāh reached as far east as Bhadrāchalam and got defeated at the hands of Bhakti Rāja.

Kāpaya, realising that the war against Bahman Shāh might lead to the conquest by that Sultān of the whole of Telingāna, wisely concluded a treaty with the invading monarch. Firishtah records that the Rāj of Telingāna promised to pay to Bahman Shāh the tribute which he had been hitherto paying to the Emperor of Dihlī.²

"Bahman's invasion of Telingana indirectly affected Kāpaya Nāyaka's authority over the coastal Andhra country. His hold over the chieftains in the coastal region became much weakened ever since the defeat he had sustained for the first time at the hands of 'Alau'd-din (Bahman Shāh). Kāpaya Nāyaka was unable to move from Warangal or turn his attention to the affairs of the coast since he was confronted with the menace of the growing power of the Bahmanī kingdom in his neighbourhood, ever ready to annex Warangal. The semblance of authority which Kāpaya Nāyaka was exercising over the coastal region vanished gradually subsequent to 'Alau'd-din Hasan's invasion of Telingana."³ As a result of this invasion Bahman got possession of the territory between Kōir and Bhongīr and forced Kāpaya Nāyaka, the ruler of Telingāna, to pay tribute to him.

After this long campaign Bahman Shāh returned to his capital and stayed there for a period resting and attending to the administration of his kingdom. Having acquired much success during the campaign in Telingāna, "the king intoxicated with success indulged in extravagant dreams of conquest, similar to those which had once deluded 'Alā'u

1. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXVI, 1941-42, p. 25.

2. *Firishtah*. Vol. I, p. 279, lines 13 and 12 from below.

3. *A Forgotten Chapter* p. 24.

'd-Dīn Khaljī and Muḥammad Tughluq, and imitated the former by assuming in the legends on his coins the vainglorious title of 'the second Alexander.'"¹

He summoned his nobles to a meeting and said, "God, the Exalted and Great, has not only bestowed on me incalculable wealth but also he has placed under my flag the flower of the army of Dihlī which was stationed in this region to guard the Deccan. Now I think that in whichever direction I may march, I shall be crowned with success and victory. In this position it will be proper on my part to make up my mind and pursue a career of conquest. Starting from Gulbargah, I desire to march to Adōnī and from there to Vijayanagar and Srīrāṅga Rāmēswar and to the district of Ma'bar. Thereafter (after securing the rear and returning to the capital), I want to advance towards Gwālior after forcing Mālwa and Gujarāt to accept my *khutbah* and adopt my coins."²

Malik Sayfu 'd-Dīn, who was now the chief noble of the kingdom, pointed out that Carnatic was a country with dense forests and numerous rivers; that the air was full of humidity, especially during the rainy season; that the horses, elephants, camels, bullocks and other animals of the Sulṭān, which had been brought up in a different climate, might not be able to endure the rigours of a long campaign in that area; and that after the campaigns which were led into the south through Dvārasamudra under 'Alā'u 'd-Dīn Khaljī and Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughluq, hardly one-tenth of the animals dumb and rational returned back safely. Therefore, he suggested that the conquest of the whole of Carnatic was not a practicable proposition; that the best course to be adopted under the circumstances and in the interest of the new state was to send an expedition against northern Carnatic, the climate of which region did not differ much from that of the Deccan and subdue such chieftains as had not been subjugated till then; and that

1. The Cambridge History of India, Vol. III, p. 375.

2. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 279.

thus having secured the rear, the Sulṭān would do well to turn his attention to the conquest of the territories of the Salṭanat of Dihlī which had fallen on evil days, especially Mālwah and then Gujarāt and Gwālior which provinces were devoid of capable Governors.¹

Bahman Shāh approved of the counsel of Sayfu 'd-Dīn and sent an expedition under 'Imādu 'l-Mulk Tāshkandī and Mubārak Khān Lodhī, two of the leading Commanders of the Sulṭān with instructions to subdue the territory up to the Tawlī and the Bakrī. On the approach of the army, the chieftains of the region recognised the suzerainty of Bahman Shāh, entered into treaties with the Commanders and offered tributes. The two Commanders returned to Gulbargah with an enormous quantity of riches which included 200,000 gold *ashrafis* of 'Alā'u 'd-Dīn Khaljī, large quantities of jewels and pearls, 200 elephants and 1,000 singing and dancing girls, murlis, from Hindu temples.

After the return of the army from the southern campaign, Ḥasan made elaborate preparations for conquests in the north and left Aḥsanābād in the month of Sha'bān 758 (July-August, 1356 A. D.) for Dawlatābād. At the latter town he inspected an army of 50,000 horse and ordered it to proceed to Mālwah through Nadriyār² and Sulṭānpūr;³ but before he had traversed the hilly country of southern Berār, Rāja Haran the Vāghelā, one of the grandsons⁴ of that Rāja Karan of Gujarāt who had been expelled from his kingdom in the reign of 'Alā'u 'd-Dīn Khaljī and had found asylum with the Rāthōr rāja of Baglāna, approached the Sulṭān (through messengers) saying that between the rulers of Gujarāt and the Deccan there had always existed an alliance; that if

1. *Firishtah*, Vol. I, pp. 279-80.

2. I think Nadriyār, there being no town of that name, should be identified with Nandūra to the east of Malkapūr.

3. See Appendix 'D'.

4. *Firishtah*. Vol. I, p. 380, line 8: The *Cambridge History* says that Rāja Haran was a son of Rāja Karan, Vol. III, p. 376.

Bahman Shāh could invade the fair land of Gujarāt, which had been the Vāghelā's ancestral kingdom and wherein there was a good deal of discontent among the population on account of the excesses of the *jāgīrdārs*, it should be easy to conquer that province; that the *rāja* would hold the province as a subordinate of Bahman Shāh; and that having secured Gujarāt, the Sultān could proceed at ease towards Mālwah. Many of the *zamīndārs* of Gujarāt sent representations to this effect and invited the Sultān of the Deccan to invade their country.¹

Bahman Shāh consulted his courtiers. After a mature deliberation, it was concluded that since Bahman Shāh had left Aḥsanābād intent on invading the territories of Sultān Fīrūz Shāh Tughluq, it made very little difference whether the first province to be attacked was Gujarāt or Mālwah. Further, it was decided that as the people of Gujarāt favoured an invasion, it was more appropriate to proceed towards that country. Accordingly, the Sultān sent in advance a force of 20,000 horse under the command of Prince Muḥammad, himself slowly following behind with the main army.²

When Prince Muḥammad, reached the district of Nāvsārī,³ he found that the area abounded in wild game and himself indulging in hunting animals, sent word to his father who was fond of the chase.⁴ Bahman Shāh rushed to the place in great haste and exerting himself for one month in the wild sport, fell ill with ardent (huming) fever. Even after that he did not take enough precaution and indulging, according to Firishtah, in wine and venison, made himself the victim of dysentery as well.⁵ The old Sultān's health gave so much cause for anxiety that the invasion of Gujarāt was abandoned. As soon as he had recovered sufficiently to be able to travel, he commenced his return journey, and travelling stage by stage, reached Aḥsanābād⁶ to end there, after a protracted

1. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 280.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid.

6. Ibid.

illness, a brilliant career of adventure which led him to found and consolidate a kingdom which endured under the rule of his own dynasty for one hundred and eighty years.

We have definite information that at the end of Bahman Shāh's reign the borders of his kingdom reached the Tapti¹ in the north, embraced Māndva² and Māhūr³ in the north-east, Nānder⁴, Indūr⁵, and Bhongīr⁶ in the east; Rāichūr⁷ (Karrī-chūr), Mudgai⁸ and Goa⁹ in the south. In more than one place Firishtah writes that Bahman's southern frontier extended to the outskirts of the district of Adōnī,¹⁰ implying thereby that the Sultān's frontier had reached the Tungabhadra River in the vicinity of Adōnī. On the eastern coast Goa,¹¹ Dābhol¹² and Chaul¹³ have been reported as conquered by Bahman Shāh. With the help of these known points and following the courses of rivers, or stopping at formidable barriers like mountain ranges, we can reconstruct the frontiers of Bahman Shāh's kingdom at the time of his death.

The northern boundary of Bahman's kingdom commenced in the west at the point where the eastern frontier of Gujarāt crossed the Tapti south of Taloda and proceeded eastward along the southern bank of the river to the confluence of the Tapti and the North Purna and thence along the southern bank of the North Purna River to its confluence with the Mūn, near Sanola.

Thereafter, the eastern frontier line took its southerly course along the Mūn to its source near Sirpūr and was produced a few miles south-eastward to join the Pus River at its source near Basim. From Basim it followed the Pus to

1. 'Iṣāmī, p. 560.
2. The Burhān, p. 27, last line. (Alif is omitted).
3. Ibid, last but one line.
4. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 280, line 8.
5. Ibid, p. 280, line 5 from below.
6. The Burhān, p. 27, line 18.
7. 'Iṣāmī, p. 585; Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 283, line 8 from below.
8. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 283, line 8 from below.
9. Ibid, p. 277, line 7 from below; The Burhān, p. 28, line 3.
10. Ibid, p. 277, line 7 from below and p. 278, line 9.
11. Ibid, p. 277, line 7 from below: The Burhān, p. 28, line 3.
12. The Burhān, p. 28, line 3.
13. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 280, line 6 from below.

its confluence with the Penganga near Māhūr and thence proceeded south-eastward along the Satmala Range to the Gōdāvarī. Thence the frontier line receded westward to the confluence of the Kadam and the Pedda Vagu Rivers with the Gōdāvarī. Then it followed the Pedda Vagu River across Koratla to its source some twenty miles to the south of that town. Proceeding further south, it joined the Kudaliār River at its bend, followed its eastern bank to its source and then marching a few miles ahead in a south-eastern direction joined the Ālcr River at its source near Jangāon. Then it followed the Ālcr River to its confluence with the Mūsi River near Pannagiri. From that point the eastern boundary line receded westward along the Mūsi River to its confluence with one of its southern tributaries (the Chinna Mūsi) about ten miles to the south of Bhongīr. Then it followed the Chinna Mūsi to its source about twenty miles to the south of the modern town of Hyderābād and proceeded southward to reach the confluence of the Krishna and the Tungabhadra.

The southern boundary of Bahman's kingdom commenced at the last mentioned confluence and marched westward along the northern bank of the Tungabhadra River to its confluence with a small tributary on the north (the Maskī Nālā) which touches Mudgal. Then it followed the Maskī Nālā to its source near Kushtagī and proceeded eastward to Goa. From Goa in the south right up to the present city of Bombay, the west coast of India formed the western boundary of Bahman's kingdom.

The distance from the sea coast on the west to Bhongīr in the east is about 350 miles and that between the North Purna River in the north and the Tungabhadra River in the south is about the same. The area of the kingdom was much less than the square of this length and this breadth which are given with reference to the farthest points. Yet Bahman's kingdom at the time of his death can be safely estimated to have covered an area of more than ninety thousand square miles.



CHAPTER VIII

BAHMAN'S DEATH AND HIS CHARACTER

I. DEATH

In the foregoing chapter we have seen how Bahman's ill health prevented him from conquering Gujarāt and forced him to return to his capital. There he summoned the 'ulamā' (scholars) and *mashā'ikh* (holy men) and clasping the hand of Ṣadru 'sh-Sharīf Samarqandī, expressed his repentance from all forbidden things.¹ He lay on his sick bed for six months.² During that period he resided in a portion of the palace inside the fort which overlooked a street and spent most of his time in looking into the grievances of the people and caring for their welfare.³ He issued a general amnesty releasing all prisoners excepting those who were kept in detention for very serious crimes. Unreleased prisoners from all over the kingdom were ordered to be brought to the Central Jail at Aḥsanābād. The Sulṭān himself examined their cases and set free most of them after granting a pardon. Only seven of the prisoners who were considered most dangerous to the new State were handed over to Prince Muḥammad to be disposed off after Bahman's death as the succeeding ruler deemed fit.⁴

In the meantime the health of the Sulṭān deteriorated day by day. Ḥakīm 'Alīmu 'd-Dīn Ṭabrizī and Ḥakīm Naṣīru 'd-Dīn Shīrāzī and several Indian physicians tried their best to arrest the disease, but to no purpose. The disease kept on increasing, and the melody having overcome the power of resistance, the Sulṭān began to lose his strength steadily. Bahman, losing hope of recovery, stopped all treatment and waited for death.⁵

It is related⁶ that, while on his death bed, Bahman Shāh, who was fond of his youngest son, Maḥmūd, finding him

1. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 280, line 8 from below.

2. Ibid. line 4 from below.

4. Ibid, pp. 280-81.

6. Ibid, p. 281, lines 4 to 7.

3. Ibid, line 3 from below.

5. Ibid, p. 281, first four lines.

not present before him, enquired where he was. On being informed that the prince was at the school, the Sulṭān sent for and asked him which book he was studying and what his latest lesson was. The boy replied that he was learning the Būstān by Shaykh Sa'dī and read out the following lines which constituted his latest lesson :—

I have heard that Jamshīd, the noble king,
Wrote on a stone just by a forest spring ;
"Time and again have we by this spring liv'd ;
Like this brook have fled all who have liv'd.
Men have won the world with might and deeds brave ;
But no one had the strength to walk to his grave."¹

When Bahman Shāh heard the third couplet, he wept bitterly and summoning his other sons—Muḥammad, Dā'ūd² and Aḥmad,³ said, "This is my last moment, and I advise you that if you want the continuance of this kingdom, you brothers should co-operate with one another."⁴ Addressing the younger ones, he told them that they should consider Muḥammad as his (Bahman's) substitute and that they should consider obedience to him to be the means of their success in life.⁵ Bahman Shāh nominated Muḥammad, the eldest son, to succeed him and making all his children, relatives, army commanders and other nobles pay homage to him, ordered that all should obey him. Turning to Muḥammad, he advised him to be considerate towards his brothers, the people in general, the soldiers and other servants.⁶ Then sending for the accumulated treasure, he handed it over to his sons and ordered them to take it to the Jāmi' Masjid and distribute it among the *mashā'ikh*, 'ulamā' and other deserving people of the Hanafī sect. When the princes returned after distributing the treasure and reported the accomplishment of the task assigned to them, Ḥasan thanked God and breathed his last.⁷

1. Ibid, p. 281. See also the Būstān (edited by A. Rogers (London, 1891), p. 32. Translation by the present author.

2. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 281, line 8.

3. The Burhān, p. 31, line 3.

4. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 281, lines 2 and 9.

5. Ibid.

6. The Burhān, p. 30,

7. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 281, lines 8-11.

As we have already seen at the end of Chapter I,¹ 'Iṣāmī,² 'Alī bin 'Azīzillāh³ and Firīshṭah⁴ give the date of Bahman's accession as 24th Rabi' II, 748 A. H. · Raffi'u 'd-Dīn Ibrāhīm states that the period of Bahman's rule was thirteen years 10 months and twenty-seven days.⁵ If we accept the period of rule reported by Raffi'u 'd-Dīn, the death of Bahman Shāh will have to be placed on the 21st of Rabi'u 'l-Awwal 762 A.H. This does not agree with the year of death 761 A.H.⁶ reported by the same author. Moreover, Bahman Shāh could not have ruled beyond the year 760 A.H, for we possess a coin of his successor, Muḥammad Shāh dated 760 A H.⁷

Firīshṭah,⁸ the *Burhān-i-Ma'āthir*⁹ and the *Tābaqāt-i-Akbarī*¹⁰ say that the reign of Bahman Shāh lasted for eleven years, two months and seven days and Firīshṭah alone gives the date of the Sulṭān's death as 1st Rabi'u 'l-Awwal, 759 A.H.¹¹ If we add the period of rule given by 'Alī bin 'Azīzillāh and Firīshṭah (eleven years two months and seven days) to the date of accession given by the same authors (24th Rabi' II, 748) we get four months in excess of the 1st Rabi'u 'l-Awwal, 759 A.H., reported by Firīshṭah or eight months less to reach the Rabi'u 'l-Awwal of the next year.

As we have just seen above, Raffi'u 'd-Dīn Ibrāhīm, the author of the *Tadhkiratu 'l-Mulūk*, writes that the period of Bahman's rule was thirteen years, ten months and twenty-seven days.¹² If we can ignore the number of days and years

1. See Supra, page 19.

2. 'Iṣāmī, p. 554 couplets 8 and 9.

3. The *Burhān*, p. 14, last but 3 lines.

4. Firīshṭah, Vol. I, p. 277, lines 6 and 7.

5. The *Ta'rikh*, Vol. III, Part IX, Supplement, p. 19, first line.

6. *Ibid.* p. 19, line 2.

7. J.A.S.B., 1923, p. N. 25, No. 8.

8. Firīshṭah, Vol. I, p. 281, line 13.

9. The *Burhān*, p.

10. The *Tābaqāt-i-Akbarī*, Vol. III, p. 7, lines 7 and 8.

11. Firīshṭah, Vol. I, p. 281, line 13.

12. The *Ta'rikh* (Hyderābād), Vol. III, (January-March, 1931), Part IX, Supplement, p. 19, first line.

given by this author in view of the evidence concerning the date of Bahman's accession furnished by other authors—Firishtah, 'Alī bin 'Azīzillāh as well as the contemporary 'Iṣāmī—and the coins of Bahman Shāh and Muḥammad Shāh dated 760 A.H., and only take the *dah māh* of Rafī'u 'd-Dīn in the place of the *dū māh* of Firishtah,¹ the *Tabaqāt*² and the *Burhān-i-Ma'āthir*,³ we get the 1st of Rabī'u 'l-Awwal⁴ mentioned by Firishtah and the year 760 A.H. I have taken the *dah māh* of Rafī'u 'd-Dīn, discarding the number of years and the number of days as well as the year of death (761 A.H.) given by the same author. I have adopted the 1st Rabī'u 'l-Awwal of Firishtah, rejecting the *dū māh* given by him as well as the year of death (759 A.H.) reported by him. This may look like selecting bits of evidence from different authors, rejecting the other parts of their evidence, with a particular prejudice or purpose.

Three powerful reasons have forced me to do this. Firstly, Firishtah has given the date of Bahman's accession as 24th Rabī' II, A.H. 748.⁵ He has given the date of the Sulṭān's death as 1st Rabī'u 'l-Awwal.⁶ He writes that his period of reign was eleven years two months and seven days.⁷ The two months and seven days, added to the 24 days of Rabī' II, yield 1st Rajab and not first Rabī'u 'l-Awwal. But, on the other hand, if we read the *dū māh* as *dah māh* (which has been reported by Rafī'u 'd-Dīn),⁸ having in view the probability of the word *dah* having been erroneously copied as *dū* by the scribe, we get the date 1st Rabī'u 'l-Awwal. Firishtah's own three pieces of evidence do not agree and a bit of evidence furnished by the *Tadhkiratu 'l-Mulūk* helps us to tally two of them—the date of coronation and the 1st Rabī'u 'l-Awwal.

1. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 281, line 12.

2. The *Tabaqāt*, Vol. III, p. 7, line 8.

3. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 281, line 13.

4. Ibid. p. 281, line 13.

5. The *Tadhkiratu 'l-Mulūk* (Hydrābād), Vol. III (January-March), Part IX, Supplement, p. 19, first line.

6. The *Burhān*, p. 29, line 21.

7. Ibid. p. 277, lines 6-7.

8. Ibid. line 12.

Secondly, of all the writers whose works are available Firishtah alone has given the date and month of the death of Bahman Shāh which are supported by two other pieces of evidence—the ten months reported by Rafī'ū 'd-Dīn and the seven days reported by the *Burhān-i-Ma'āthir*, the *Tabaqāt* as well as Firishtah. Hence I cannot reject that report easily. Nor can I retain the *dū māh* and also have the 1st Rabī' I, for that will be a serious arithmetical error.

Thirdly, a coin of Bahman Shāh bearing the year 760 A.H. has been recovered,¹ and no coin of his successor bearing an earlier date is available.² The coin is a positive proof which establishes that Hasan was reigning in the year 760 A.H. Only the adoption of the *dah māh* of Rafī'ū 'd-Dīn³ and the rejection of the *dū māh* of Firishtah,⁴ the *Tabaqāt*⁵ and the *Burhān-i-Ma'āthir*⁶—the latter two do not give the date of the Sultān's death—take us to the 1st of Rabī'ū 'l-Awwal given by Firishtah⁷ and the year 760 A.H. inscribed on a coin of Bahman Shāh. Sir Wolseley Haig suggests that the coin "is perhaps posthumous, although no coin of Muḥammad I of an earlier date than A. H. 760 has been discovered."⁸ Since the date of the coin is supported by two other small bits of evidence, the "*dah māh*" of the *Tadhkiratu 'l-Mulūk*⁹ and the

1. J.A.S.B., (New Series), XIV. p. 475. Bahman Shāh's coin dated 760 A.H. acquired by the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, "is of the normal type of No. 1 (My plate No. III, Fig. 1) of 'Gold and Silver coins of the Bahmanī Dynasty' by James Gibb published in the Numismatic Chronicle of 1881." See the note on the reign of 'Alā'ū 'd-Dīn Bahman Shāh, J.A.S.B., 1918, p. 475.

2. Ibid., p. 576. The earliest known coin of Muḥammad, the successor of Bahman Shāh, is dated 760 A.H. See No. 3 of 'Gold and Silver Coins of the Bahmanī Dynasty, by James Gibb published in the Numismatic Chronicle of 1881.

3. The *Ta'rikh* (Hyderābād), Vol. III, Part IX, Supplement, p. 19, first line.

4. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 281, line 12.

5. The *Tabaqāt*, Vol. III, p. 7, line 8. 6. The *Burhān*, p. 29, line 21.

7. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 281, line 13.

8. The Cambridge History of India, Vol. III, p. 376, foot-note.

9. The *Ta'rikh*, Vol. III, Part IX, Supplement, p. 19, first line.

"1st Rabī'u 'l-Awwal" given by Firishtah,¹ we need not regard the coin as posthumous especially in the absence of any coin of an earlier date struck by his successor.

Recently, I came across a passage in the *Zafaru 'l-Wālih*² which says that Bahman Shāh "ruled for eleven years, ten months and seven days." The author was a contemporary of Firishtah and 'Alī bin 'Azīzillāh. Hence we can assume with confidence that the word *dah māh* was later corrupted into *dū mhā*.

As regards the fixing of the year in which Bahman Shāh died there should be no doubt whatsoever, when we have a coin of Bahman Shāh dated 760 A.H. and another of his successor bearing the same year. Against this powerful numismatic evidence, Firishtah's solitary report that Bahman Shāh died in the year 759 A.H. should have no value. We could have given some more consideration to Firishtah's report if the three pieces of information he has furnished us had tallied. In view of the numismatic evidence we possess, (inspite of Firishtah's report that the Sultān died in 759 A.H.) there should be no doubt that Bahman Shāh died in the year 60 A.H.

Taking the available data—the date of accession of Bahman to the throne given by 'Iṣāmī,³ Firishtah⁴ and one report of 'Alī bin 'Azīzillāh⁵ (24th Rabī' II, 748 A.H.), the ten months in the total period of reign reported by Rafī'u 'd-Dīo,⁶ and the author of *Zafaru 'l-Wālih*,⁷ the 1st Rabī'u 'l-Awwal given by Firishtah,⁸ the coin of Bahman Shāh bearing the date

1. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 281, line 13.

2. *Zafaru 'l-Wālih bi Muzaḥḥar wa Ālih*, by 'Abdullāh Muḥammad bin 'Umar al-Makkī al-Āṣṣī al-Ūlugh Khānī, (edited by E. Dentson Ross, published by John Murray, London, 1910) page 159, line 21.

3. 'Iṣāmī, p. 554, couplets 8 and 9.

4. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 277, lines 6 and 7.

5. The Burhān, p. 14, last but three lines.

6. The Ta'rikh (Hyderābād), Vol. III, Part, IX, Supplement, p. 19.

7. *Zafaru 'l-Wālih*, p. 159, line 21.

8. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 281, line 13.

760 A.H.¹ and that of his son and successor having the same date (760 A.H.)—into consideration, we can be sure that the total period of Bahman Shāh's reign was eleven years, ten months and seven days and that the date of his death was 1st Rabi' u 'l-Awwal 760 A.H. (31st January, 1359 A.D.).

The *Burhān-i-Ma'āthir* gives the year of Muḥammad Shāh's accession to the throne as 758 A.H.² This does not agree with any of the two reports³ of the same author concerning the date on which Bahman Shāh ascended the throne and the total period of reign given by him.⁴ Moreover, this report is contrary to the evidence furnished by Bahman Shāh's coins dated 759 A.H.⁵ and 760 A.H.⁶

Bahman Shāh died at the ripe age of 67, leaving behind him four sons, Muḥammad Khān (Zafar Khān), Dā'ūd Khān, Aḥmad Khān and Maḥmūd Khān.

Bahman Shāh lies buried in one of the three magnificent tombs which are situated about a couple of furlongs from the south gate of the fort of Gulbargah. According to Prof. Shērwanī, one of them is definitely known to contain the remains of Muḥammad Shāh II, the fifth Bahmanī ruler.⁷ Of the other two, one is on the surface of the ground and the other on a platform 4 feet high. The Director of the Hyderābād Archaeological Department is of the opinion that the remains of Bahman Shāh lie in the mausoleum built on the platform⁸. But Professor Shērwanī holds that Bahman Shāh lies buried in the humbler surface mausoleum,⁹ which according to him, is older and more akin to the Tughluq type of tombs "with extremely thick walls."¹⁰ After enume-

1. J.A.S.B. (New Series), XXV, p. 475.

2. The *Burhān*, p. 31, lines 9 and 10.

3. *Ibid*, p. 14, last two lines but three.

5. J.A.S.B., 1918, p. 576.

7. Shērwanī, p. 67.

8. Report of the Hyderābād Archaeological Department, 1925-26, pp. 1 and 2, quoted by Shērwanī, p. 75, foot-note 59.

9. Shērwanī, p. 68.

4. *Ibid*, p. 29, line 21.

6. *Ibid*, p. 575.

10. *Ibid*.

rating the architectural grounds for his contention, the learned Professor writes: "All these considerations, coupled with the local tradition, lead one to the probable conclusion that 'Alā'u 'd-Dīn Ḥasan Bahman Shāh is buried in the lower scpulchre while his renowned son (Muḥammad I) lies in the raised mausoleum."¹

II CHARACTER

Ḥasan who came of a Persian stock had a good personality and noble bearing. Apart from the praises showered by his court poet, two passages of Firishtah, who is by no means friendly towards Ḥasan, clearly speak of his noble bearing. He puts the following words in the mouth of the great Shbaykh, Niẓāmu 'd-Dīn Awliyā' referring to the young Ḥasan: "A person, on whose forehead signs of nobility are evident, is standing outside the door,"² Again Firishtah reports Ismā'il Mukh as having said: "Zafar Khān is descended from Bahman; signs of greatness and bravery are evident from his forehead; and he deserves the crown and the throne."³

Ḥasan was a brave soldier and a good fighter and is said to have taken active part in several battles. He is reported by 'Iṣāmī as having been one of those who fought against Bahā'u 'd-Dīn Gurshāsp in the year 1327.⁴ He joined the rebels at a late stage of the rebellion, that is, after the capture of Dawlatābād by the rebels and the elevation of Ismā'il to the throne of the Deccan. At Gulbargah, he led an attack in person to beat back the beleaguered force which had sallied forth and surprised the besiegers.⁵ Then we see Ḥasan, who had by now won the title of Zafar Khān, fighting as one of the Commanders of the left wing of the forces of Ismā'il Mukh in the battle outside the fort of Dawlatābād against Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughluq.⁶ According to 'Iṣāmī he held the chief command on the left,⁷ and succeeded in defeating

1. Sherwānī, p. 69.

2. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 274, line 13.

4. 'Iṣāmī, p. 425, line 6 from below.

6. Ibid, p. 532.

3. Ibid, p. 277, lines 3 and 4.

5. Ibid, p. 527, lines 9 to 11.

7. Ibid, p. 532, lines 6-9.

the right wing of the Sulṭān of Dīhlī.¹ Firishtah corroborates Iṣāmī and says that both the right and the left wing of the Sulṭān were defeated at the first onslaught.² Again, Zafar Khān is reported to have played the chief part in the battle against Sartīz, himself commanding the centre.³

Apart from his qualities as a soldier and general of a respectable degree, Zafar Khān, stands out as a leader of men. With only a fragment of a defeated army at his disposal, he rallied round him several military officers, held together that turbulent band, diverted their energies to one purpose—that of defeating the redoubtable Trukoman, Sartīz—and finally succeeded in the mission which elevated him to the throne of the Deccan. The same qualities of leadership and command stabilized him on his hard won throne which he was able to pass on to his progeny.

Bahman Shāh appears to have been a warrior with some of the vices common to the soldiers of those days, especially wine and venison.⁴ He was a passionate lover of wild game and two hunting expeditions of his have been mentioned—one by 'Iṣāmī and the other by Firishtah. According to the former, he went out on a hunting expedition from Miraj in the direction of Pattan⁵ (Kahārī Pattao)⁶ in the Konkan and Firishtah describes in detail the hunt undertaken by the Sulṭān in the district of Nāvsārī. His zeal for the chase was so great at the advanced age of sixty-six or sixty-seven that he continued the sport in spite of his burning fever and injured his health so badly that it could not be repaired.⁷ Notwithstanding his great care and caution in the field of politics and his relationship with other persons, we see in Ḥasan a certain element of excess in matters 'self-regarding'.

He was not only an ardent sportsman but was endowed in an abundant measure with a sense of team spirit and the

1. 'Iṣāmī, page, 533, lines 1-9.

2. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 275, lines 6 and 5 from below.

3. 'Iṣāmī, p. 547, line 1 and p. 548, line 3.

4. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 290.

5. 'Iṣāmī, p. 596-97.

6. The Burhān, p. 25, line 10.

7. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 27.

qualities of a sportsman. His harangue to the wavering officers who were laying siege to the fortress of Gulbargah and were demurring to respond to the urgent summons from Ismā'īl Mukh and his polite hesitancy to accept the honour of royalty offered by his erstwhile sovereign are but two instances. Addressing the wavering officers, he is reported to have said :

"A group of men rebel against a king,
And pick and choose one of them as the king.
If they fail him at the hour of need,
How can e'r the revolt succeed ?
Faith has become, alas ! n thing in name ;
Thus, leaders to behave ! it is a shame.
Allies, in action, if unit'd remain,
All that they aim they shall, perforce, attain.
Just when an evil king, by his misdeeds,
This fair land and its people rends and bleeds,
If we unite and struggle heart and soul,
We shall hurl down the firm'ment blue and foul."¹

He was as good as his words and collecting his companions together, went to Dawlatābād and took an active part in the battle against the Sulṭān of Dihlī. According to 'Iṣāmī Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughluq tried to win him over, but Ṣafar Khān remained steadfast,² maintaining the team spirit of a sportsman.

Again when he was offered the throne by Nāṣiru 'd-Dīn, he did not grab it readily. He politely declined the honour and offered to continue in the service of the king as a soldier. The following are the words in which Ṣafar Khān is said to have hesitated to accept the throne of the Deccan :

"O king," said he, in quite a noble tone,
"I 'll bear the sword for you as I have borne.
Do have the canopy on your head ;
Let's guard you with the sword from foes you dread.
We, soldiers, must be in your service glad,
Keen to help you at all times, good or bad.
I do not want from you the crown and throne ;
You shall find me to help you always prone."³

1. 'Iṣāmī, p. 528, last six lines but one.

2. Ibid, p. 542, lines 10-12.

3. 'Iṣāmī, p. 553, lines 7-10.

It was only after Ismā'il's pressing him hard that he accepted the honour.¹ Thus, we see that Bahmao Shāh was not only a lover of sports but also possessed, in an ample measure, team spirit and other sportsmanlike qualities.

In addition to the spirit of sportsmanship, it might have been at the dictation of caution that Bahman hesitated to accept the crown as soon as it was offered, for we find him exercising great care and restraint at several stages. He did not join the rebels in the early stages of the rebellion. Even after Ismā'il was proclaimed Sultān of the Deccan at Dawlatābād, Ḥasan wavered for a few months.² He did not endeavour to give battle to Sartiz in the vicinity of Gulbargah, but waited until reinforcements arrived from Kāpaya Nāidū (Nāyaka) and Ismā'il Mukh.³ He did not launch on any big enterprise as long as Muḥammad bin Tughluq was alive except to the extent of consolidating the kingdom and eliminating pockets inside it, which were loyal to the Sultān of Dihlī. There was nothing of firmhardiness in Bahman Shāh. Although at one time he entertained a certain grandiose scheme of conquering the whole of South India, he soon abandoned it when Malik Sayfu 'd-Dīn Ghūrī pointed out that it was impracticable.⁴ His policy of pardon and reconciliation was to a great extent determined by the element of caution.

Flishtah writes⁵ that the author of the *Mulḥaqāt-i-Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, 'Aynu 'd-Dīn Bijāpūrī, has reported that Ḥasan was asked, "How was it that, without any treasure or army, in such a short time you gained so much of power and wealth, and in what way could you make, without much difficulty, such a large number of people follow and obey you?" Ḥasan is said to have replied, "There were two reasons for it. Firstly, I held fast to the *muruwat* (social virtue) and under no circumstances overstepped its limits. Secondly, stretching out the hand of liberality, I tried the path of generosity towards

1. 'Iqāmī, p. 553, lines 14 to 22.

2. Ibid, p. 526, line 8.

3. Flishtah, Vol. I, p. 276, lines 16 and 17.

4. Ibid, p. 279.

5. Ibid, Vol. I, p. 281, lines 13 and 14.

friends and foes. On account of these two great things, men began to like me and they not only obeyed me but also loved me."¹ If Bahman Shāh had made this statement, there was much in him to justify it. No writer has reported any act of Ḥasan which could be regarded as against the social virtues of the Muslims of the fourteenth century. If, as reported by Firishtah, Ḥasan was addicted to wine, it was not considered to be against the *minuwwat*, for taking wine was a 'self-regarding' and not an 'other-regarding' act. In his dealings with his comrades and subordinates he was extremely liberal and generous. Some may blame Ḥasan for the suicide of Khwājah Jahān Nūru 'd-Dīn at Miraj,² but since there is no evidence at all to implicate Ḥasan, it should be regarded as a suicide pure and simple, and its causes must be sought in the mental agony of the victim himself due to his failure to rise equal to the occasion and owing to the rise of a new and greater rival.

The story of Firishtah that Bahman Shāh executed Ismā'īl Mukb in a full assembly³ is to be taken with a grain of salt. So also the story that Bahman deliberately had the ex-sultān insulted at a *darbār* by giving precedence to Malik Sayfu 'd-Dīn Ghūrī over Ismā'īl.⁴ 'Iṣāmī is definite that Malik Sayfu 'd-Dīn held irgah of the Sultān of Dihlī and that he was in close league with Nārāyan in supporting the cause of his overlord against Bahman Shāh.⁵ He is also positive that it was after the treacherous murder (by poisoning) by Nārāyan of Ismā'īl Mukh, whom the former had inveigled with false promises and oaths, that Sayfu 'd-Dīn made up his mind to desert Nārāyan and join Bahman Shāh, who possibly attracted the Ghūrīd chief by offering him the place vacated by Ismā'īl. Of course, exception can be taken to his joining a rebellion against his overlord, Sultān Muḥammad Tughluq. The rebels' justification of the revolt seems to have been based on

1. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 261, lines 15 and 16.

2. See Supra, p. 14.

3. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 279.

4. Ibid, p. 278, last 4 lines.

5. 'Iṣāmī, p. 588.

the fact that the Sultān of Dihlī "killed a large number of innocent persons especially religious and military leaders."¹

The revolt of the *Amīrān-i-Sadah* in Gujarāt which spread over to the Deccan was started by a Muftī² (Abu Bakr Jawar Banbal Mubārak Khurram Muftī) and a Qādī³ (Jalāl). They would have issued *fatwas* (decrees) to the effect that it was permissible to revolt against a monarch who deliberately killed innocent Muslims. Such murders without proper trials, there were many to the credit of Sultān Muḥammad Tughluq. Still there are indications that Bahman Shāh did not have a clear conscience. The fearful spectre of Sultān Muḥammad was haunting his dreams,⁴ mostly due to the fear of the terrible tyrant and, perhaps, also owing to a sense of guilt.

Bahman was a dutiful and respectful son. In his early days he is reported to have lived with his mother and taken her to Shaykh Muḥammad Sirāj Junaydī.⁵ Later, even in the darkest hour of the struggle, Bahman did not fail to visit his mother and get her blessing.⁶ From Firishtah's account of the marriage of the heir-apparent it appears that Bahman Shāh was a kind and good husband, a loving father and a considerate relative. To please his wife, he went to the extent of getting down her sister all the way from Multān across an enemy country and prolonged the celebrations for one full year.⁷ His behaviour with his son, Muḥammad, when he arrived with his siege machines,⁸ and his affectionate parting with all his children just before his death⁹ show that he was a loving father. His conduct in respect of his sister-in-law¹⁰ gives us the impression that he was considerate towards his relatives and had some sense of humour and hilarity as well.

1. *Iṣāmī*, p. 504, line 5.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 505.

3. *Ibid.*

4. *Ibid.*, p. 579.

5. *The Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 154: *Ta'rikh* (Hyderābād), Vol. III, Part IX, Supplement, p. 16.

6. *Iṣāmī*, p. 541, line 3 from below.

8. *Iṣāmī*, p. 594-95.

7. *Firishtah*, Vol. I, p. 278.

10. *Ibid.*, page 278.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 281.

Firishtah would have us believe that Bahman Shāh had a certain preference for the Hindus. Such a thing would have been highly commendable, for the bulk of the population under his rule was Hindu by religion. But it is not a fact, and the historian, himself a Hindu hater, calls Bahman a pro-Hindu to defame him before the Muslims and not to add to his glory. The two cases cited by Firishtah are that he preferred Hindu astrologers to Ṣadru 'sh-Sharīf Samargandī and Mīr Munajjim Badakshahī¹ and that he put the Hindu Kānkūl Bahman in charge of the Finance Department.² We have seen that Kānkūl Bahman was a creature of Firishtah's imagination and a mere reading of the passage in which he charges Bahman with preferring Hindu astrologers will convince any one that it is full of superstition and inconsistency. Further, there is no evidence worth the name to establish that Bahman had a soft corner for the Hindus; but, on the other hand, there is at least one instance in which he behaved cruelly with them. He tolerated Hindu *jagīrdārs* and chieftains, but insisted on their paying the *jizyah* and the *kharāj* as in the case of Nārāyan³ and Khepras.⁴ He tolerated Hindus as done by all Muslim rulers in India since the days of Muḥammad bin al-Qāsim, but he had nothing in him of the breadth of vision of Zaynu 'l-'Ābidīn of Kashmir or Akbar the Great.

Ḥasan was a superstitious man who was sometimes guided by dreams. 'Iṣāmī reports four dreams⁵ of his which helped him to take certain decisions. He was devoted to Shaykh Muḥammad Sirāj Junaydī⁶ during his youth, and later when he went to Dihlī, he called on Shaykh Niẓāmu 'd-Dīn Awliyā'.⁷ As soon as he was elected Sultān of the Deccan, his first public act was to send five maunds of gold

1. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 277.

2. Ibid, p. 278, line 2.

3. 'Iṣāmī, p. 596, line 14.

4. Ibid, pp. 585-86.

5. Ibid, pp. 526, 542, 558 and 578.

6. Indian Antiquary, Vol. XXVIII, p. 154: Ta'rīkh (Hyderābād) Vol. III, Part IX, Supplement, p. 16.

7. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 274; The Burhān, p. 12.

and double that weight of silver to Shaykh Burhānu 'd-Dīn, who was at Dawlatābād, to be distributed among the poor and the indigent for the spiritual comfort of Shaykh Niẓāmu 'd-Dīn Awliyā'.¹

Throughout, Ḥasan seems to have been very liberal with money. There are several references in *Firishtah*² to his liberality and the court poet's (*Iṣmī*'s) praises are too profuse to be quoted here in detail. He had lived in the company of Sufīs like Shaykh Muḥammad Sirāj Junaydī and others who scorned to possess wealth. Ḥasan seems to have acquired something of that trait just before his death which caused him to give away all the cash he had in the treasury to the poor and the needy.³ It was a great act accomplished by only a few rulers and potentates.

Another admirable act with which Ḥasan ended his career was the setting at liberty of all the prisoners in the realm, excepting seven dangerous persons who were left in the prison to be dealt with by his son and successor, Muḥammad.⁴

To conclude, Ḥasan's character must be considered good in the background of the age in which he lived. He was a dutiful son, a good husband, a loving father and a considerate relative. As a soldier, he was courageous and skilled, loyal to his comrades and having many of the soldierly qualities of *esprit de corps*, sportsmanship and team spirit. He was cautious, magnanimous, forgiving, generous and liberal. He desisted from excesses, strived to heal wounds and injuries, was extremely liberal with his purse and humane in his dealings with the nobles and the subjects. It is not surprising that he was generally loved and willingly obeyed. On the whole Ḥasan may be called a good ruler.

1. *Firishtah*, Vol. I, p. 277, lines 5 and 6 from below.

2. *Ibid*, p. 278 line 9 from below.

3. *Firishtah*, Vol. I, p. 281.

4. *Ibid*, pp. 280-81.

CHAPTER IX.

THE GOVERNMENT UNDER BAHMAN SHĀH

FIRST MUSLIM KINGDOM IN THE DECCAN

The area in which Bahman Shāh carved out his kingdom was, until a few decades before his rise to power, governed by Hindu rulers for many centuries. The two kingdoms, which had that region under their rule before the Muslims conquered it, were those of the Yādavas and the Kākatiyas. The Yādava kingdom was finally annexed by the Muslims in the year 1317-18 A.D. and the Warangal Kingdom, though conquered completely for a time, sprang up again and continued for many years even after the establishment of the Bahmanī rule. A factor which immensely contributed to the success of the rebellion by the *Amīrān-i-Sadah* was the intense hatred which the Hindus, who formed the bulk of the population of the Deccan, had towards the *Salṭanat* of Dihlī, which had put an end to the rule of their Hindu *rājas*. Any revolt against Dihlī was welcome. The *rāja* of Kampili risked his all to help Bahā'u 'd-Dīn Gurshāsp¹ and Kāpaya Nāidū of Warangal helped Bahman Shāh with a force of fifteen thousand soldiers.²

Although several small independent Muslim kingdoms had been established south of the Vindhya, especially in Malabār³ and Tamil Nāḍ,⁴ their dimensions and durations were not of much consequence. The first independent Muslim kingdom in the south covering an extensive area was the one set up by Sultān Jalālu 'd-Dīn Aḥsan Shāh of Madura, and the first independent Muslim kingdom in the Deccan proper was that founded by Bahman Shāh. Direct

1. 'Iṣṭāḥ-i, pp. 429-30.

2. *Firishrah*, Vol. I, p. 276, line 16.

3. E.g. the kingdom of the *Adī Rāja* in Cannanore and the principality established by Shaykh Jamālu 'd-Dīn at Hinawar (*Ibn Baṭṭūṭah*, Vol. IV, pp. 67 seqq.).

4. E.g. the short lived kingdom established by Ibrāhīm ash-Shahīd in the Rāmnūd district and the kingdom of Ma'bar established by Jalālu 'd-Dīn Aḥsan Shāh with Madura as the capital.

Muslim rule in the Deccan having been only a few decades old at the time of Bahman's accession, the essential administrative set up in that region could not have been much different from what prevailed under the Hindu rājās.

DE JURE SOVEREIGNTY

According to the Muslim law, as developed in the early centuries of Islam, there should be a supreme Imām as the head of the Muslim State¹ and the 'Abbāsids, under whom the Sunnī legal codes took their present shape, were recognised to be the legal Imāms of the Muslim World. In the year 1258 A.D. Hulāgū Khān took Baghdād and had the Caliph Musta'sim killed. Three years later, an uncle of Musta'sim who was installed as the Khalīfah at Cairo commenced a new line of puppet Caliphs which continued at Cairo until 1517.

During this period, the 'Ahhāsīd Caliph at Cairo was considered to be the *de jure* ruler of the Muslim World, and independent Muslim monarchs ruling over vast empires sought recognition by the puppet Caliph. Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughluq had secured such recognition from the Caliph,² and Bahman Shāh was a rebel against a Muslim ruler duly recognised by the Khalīfah. Hence the legal position of Bahman Shāh was untenable. In the hope of getting the recognition of the 'Ahhāsīd Khalīfah in the future, Ḥasan had adopted the 'Ahhāsīd black canopy,³ and sent messengers loaded with presents to the Khalīfah to have him recognised as a legal ruler. In Dhu 'l-Qa'dah, A.H. 757, the Caliph, Ḥākim bi Amrillāh, recognised Sulṭān Fīrūz Shāh as the ruler of India and recommended that Bahman Shāh should be allowed to rule over the Deccan.⁴ This gave Bahman Shāh the required legal status in the eye of the Muslims.

1. Al-Mawardī, *al-Aḥkām 's-Sulṭāniyah*, (Cairo), p. 3.

2. *Firishtah*, Vol. I, p. 139; Baranī, p. 490.

3. *Ibid*, p. 277, line 7.

4. *Firishtah*, Vol. I, p. 146, lines 18-19.

The local population had been ruled over for a long time by monarchs who claimed descent from Hindu gods. Bahman Shāh who stepped into the shoes of those celestial offsprings had to elevate himself in the esteem of his subjects as far as possible. All reports agree that he was handsome and stalwart. His claim to descent from Bahman, son of Isfandiyār, who, like the other rulers of his dynasty, had claimed to be the representative of God on the earth, and his own assumption of the name Bahman Shāh might have helped him in the direction of elevating himself head and shoulder above those who surrounded him. Bahman's ex-sovereign, Ismā'il Mukh, was an obstacle in this affair, for Bahman had to treat him with great respect even when he was holding his public *darbār*.¹ However, circumstances having eliminated Ismā'il Mukh,² Bahman increased the grandeur of his court and availed the occasion of his son's marriage as an opportunity for the display of pomp and magnificence.

As we have already noticed, Bahman Shāh was a religious man deeply devoted to saints and Sufis. Hence he bestowed large presents and endowments on religious leaders like Shaykh, Burhānu 'd-Dīn Gharīb, disciple of Khwājah Nizāmu 'd-Dīn Awliya',³ Shaykh 'Aynu 'd-Dīn Bijāpūrī, who was said to be the disciple and Khalifah (successor) of Mīr (Sayyid) 'Alā'u 'd-Dīn Jaunpūrī,⁴ and Mawlānā Mu'īnu 'd-Dīn Hirawī, the tutor of Prince Muḥammad Shāh.⁵ These gifts to religious men enhanced his prestige with the Muslims.

Although the rule set up by Bahman Shāh was an autocratic one, he took all major steps in consultation with the leading nobles of the realm. We have at least three instances on record when he is reported to have taken decisions in the council of his nobles—before sending an expedition to Carnatic,⁶ before diverting the expedition to Mālwah towards

1. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 278-79.

2. See Supra page 77.

3. Firishtah, p. 277, lines 6 and 5 from below.

4. The Burhān, p. 21, lines 13-14.

5. The Burhān, p. 21, lines 14.

6. Firishtah, Vol. I pp. 279-80.

Gujarāt¹ and, if Firishtah's story can be relied upon in preference to the one given by 'Iṣāmī, before executing 'Ismā'īl Mukh.² He is reported, at least once, to have given up his own schemes of conquest in favour of the decision of his nobles which was voiced by his sagacious minister Sayfu 'd-Dīn Ghūrī.³

THE ROYAL HOUSEHOLD

We have a long list of offices and titles conferred by Bahman Shāh on his erstwhile accomplices in the great revolt against the Sultān of Dihlī most of which were copies of their counterparts at Dihlī. The royal household of Bahman Shāh could have been only a modest affair, but we possess almost the entire list of household offices of Dihlī imported into the capital of Bahman Shāh with slight alterations here and there in the nomenclature of the posts. The Wakīl-i-Dar, his deputy, the Bārbak, his deputy, the Qūrbaks, Hājib-i-Khāṣṣ on the right and left, their assistants, the Guard of the throne, Jāndār-i-Khāṣṣ (one on the right and the other on the left), Hājibs; Sayyidu 'l-Hujjāb, Shahnah-i-Bārgāh, his deputy, the Ākhur Bak on the right and the left, the Shahnah-i-Khwān, Sarābdār, Sarpardāhdār, Kharīṭah Kash, Sardawāt-dār, Shahnah-i-Pīl, etc.

WAKIL-I-DAR

The chief dignitary of the royal household was the Wakīl-i-Dar. He controlled the entire household and supervised the payment of allowances and salaries to the king's personal staff.⁴ The royal kitchen and the stables were under his care.⁵ The powers of the Wakīl-i-Dar were extensive and his jurisdiction embraced men and women of great political importance. Hence the office was usually bestowed on one of the most important personages of the kingdom. The Wakīl-i-Dar was assisted by another noble of standing who was styled Nā'ib Wakīl-i-Dar. Bahman Shāh appointed his

1. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 280.

2. Ibid, p. 279.

3. Ibid, p. 279-80.

4. Minhāj, p. 298, Nāzim, p. 147.

5. Qureshī, p. 59.

nephew and son-in-law, Bahrām Khān Māzandarānī to be the Wakīl-i-Dar and appointed 'Umar to the post of the Nā'ib Wakīl-i-Dar.

BARBAK

Almost of equal importance was the post of the Bārbak. 'Iṣāmī mentions the post of the Bārbak first and then that of the Wakīl-i-Dar. Sikandar Khūn, whom Bahman Shāh had adopted as his son, was given the post of Bārbak and Bahrām Khūn, the Sulṭān's nephew, was made Wakīl-i-Dar. "The Bārbak was the master of ceremonies at the court; it was his duty to marshail the nobles and the officials in accordance with the precedence of their ranks and to safeguard the dignity of all royal functions,"¹ All petitions were presented to the Sulṭān through the Bārbak or his subordinates.² Thus the post of the Bārbak commanded great prestige and was generally reserved for princes of the royal blood.

Dr. Qureshī thinks that the two designations, Amīr Hājib and Bārbak, indicate the same officer who was the head of all the Hājibs and that the term, Sayyidu 'l-Hujjāh, was a title bestowed on some leading Hājib.³ Bahman Shāh bestowed this title on Malik Chhajjū⁴ and made Malik Shādī the Nā'ib Bārbak.⁵

THE HAJIB

The Bārbak was the chief of all the Hājibs and was often called the Amīr Hājib. The Hājibs stood between the Sulṭān and his subjects and nobody could enter the royal presence without being introduced by them.⁶ They conveyed messages from the Sulṭān to the supplicants and the officials. "The monarch had practically always a few hājibs in attendance, and one or two of these waited on him when he was alone or even closetted with his nobles in consultation. Probably, these

1. Qureshī, p. 61.

2. Ibn Baṭṭūṭah, Vol. II, p. 53; Baranī, p. 578.

3. Qureshī, pp. 61-62.

4. 'Iṣāmī, p. 556, line 19.

5. Ibid, p. 555, line 20.

6. Ibn Baṭṭūṭah, Vol. II, pp. 80-82.

selected *hājibs* were styled *Khāṣṣ Hājibs*.¹ Bahman Shāh appointed several *Hājibs* and called Malik Chhajjū, *Syyidu 'l-Hujjah*.² Shamsu 'd-Dīn, son of Rashīqī, was chosen as *Hājib-i-Khāṣṣ*.³ 'Iṣāmī writes that his benefactor, Qūḍī Bahā'u 'd-Dīn, held the post of *Hājib-i-Qiṣṣah*.⁴ The editor of the *Futūḥu 's-Salāṭīn*, Mr. Ūsha, thinks that the word may be *qaḍiyah* (dispute, case).⁵ The editor of the *Būḥār-i-Ma'āthir* prefers the word (*qaṣabah*).⁶ The word in the available manuscripts of the *Futūḥu 's-Salāṭīn* appears as (*qiṣṣah*)⁷ in several places, and there is no scope to accomodate the word *qaḍiyah* within the couplet as it is. It is possible that Bahā'u 'd-Dīn should have been the private secretary of the Sulṭān on Judicial matters as suggested by Mr. Ūsha. It is also likely that he should have been the historian or story-teller of the court. Major King takes the term as *Hājib-i-Qaṣabah* and translates it into 'Constable of the City'.⁸ 'Iṣāmī, at the end of the book, states that Bahā'u 'd-Dīn had been *Hājib Qiṣṣah* (or *Qaṣabah*) at the beginning of the reign and that subsequently he was promoted to be the *Nā'ib Hājib-i-Khāṣṣ*.⁹

THE GUARDS

The Sulṭān, as at Dihlī, had also a number of picked soldiers called *Jāndārs*. Their duty was to keep the people away from the monarch.¹⁰ Usually tall, handsome, brave young men were chosen to serve as *Jāndārs*. Bahman Shāh appointed Aḥmad, son of Ḥarb, to be the *Jāndār-i-Khāṣṣ* on the right¹¹ and Tāju 'd-Dīn, son of Dahshīr, to be the *Jāndār-i-Khāṣṣ* on the left.¹² Naṣīru 'd-Dīn Taghalchī was bestowed the title of 'Aḍdu 'l-Mulk and appointed Guard of the Throne.¹³ The duties attached to the post are not known.

1. Ibn Baṣṭūḥ, Vol. II p. 52: Baranī, pp. 527-28.

2. 'Iṣāmī, p. 556, line 19.

3. Ibid. p. 555, line 19.

4. Ibid. p. 546, line 20.

5. Ibid. p. 32, foot-note.

6. The Burhān, p. 16, line 11.

7. 'Iṣāmī, pp. 22, 23, 556 etc.

8. Indian Antiquary, Vol. XXVIII, p. 144.

9. 'Iṣāmī, p. 603, lines 8 and 9.

10. Ibid. p. 556, line 16.

11. Ibid. p. 556, lines 16 and 17.

12. Ibid.

13. Ibid. p. 556, line 9.

SARPARDĀHDAR

There was a special body of guards for the inner pavilions and halls outside the female quarters called the Sarpardah-dūrān-i-Khāṣṣ.¹ An important noble was placed over them. One 'Alī Shāh was appointed to this important office.² Professor Shērwanī writes³ that this 'Alī Shāh was the same person whom Firishtah calls the brother of Bahman Shāh⁴ and who revolted against Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughluq.⁵ The assumption is against two contemporary pieces of evidence. Ibn Baṭṭūṭah⁶ and Baranī⁷ are definite that 'Alī Shāh was put to death by Sulṭān Muḥammad. This officer must be some other 'Alī Shāh and the Natthū,⁸ who received the title of Shēr Khān, must also be a different man.

QURBAK

Bahman conferred the title of Gurshāsp on Ḥusayn Hathiyah, and appointed him to the office of Qūrbak on the left and bestowed the corresponding post on the right to Shamsu 'd-Dīn Pīghū.⁹ The printed copy of the *Burhān-i-Ma'āthir* gives the designation as Qūrbak.¹⁰ But in several places 'Iṣāmī's text reads as Qurabak.¹¹ The Qūrbak was responsible for the Sulṭān's arms.¹² Bahman Shāh appointed two Nū'ib Qūrbaks also. Malik Bayrām was posted on the right and 'Alā'u 'd-Dīn on the left.¹³

SHAHNAH-I-BAROAH

Bahman Shāh is reported to have appointed Rajab¹⁴ and later Dawlat Shāh¹⁵ as the Shahnah-i-Bārgāh and made Kidr¹⁶ his deputy. It is not possible to determine the duties of these two officers. However, from the inscription reproduced

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| 1. Qureshī, p. 64. | 2. 'Iṣāmī, p. 557, line 6. |
| 3. The Bahmanis of the Deccan, p. 51. | |
| 4. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 13. | 5. See Supra pp. 34-36. |
| 6. Ibn Baṭṭūṭah, Vol. III, p. 358. | 7. Baranī, p. 499. |
| 8. 'Iṣāmī, p. 555, line 11. | 9. Ibid, p. 556, line 2. |
| 10. The Burhān, p. 16, lines 5 and 6. | 11. 'Iṣāmī, pp. 555-556. |
| 12. Baranī, pp. 126, 241 and 527. | 13. 'Iṣāmī, p. 556, lines 5 and 6. |
| 14. Ibid, p. 556, last line. | 15. The Burhān, p. 17, line 12. |
| 16. 'Iṣāmī, p. 556, last line. | |

by me on Plate II, we learn that Dawlat Shāh constructed the mosque at Gulbargah. Hence, it is probable that the Shahnah-i-Bārgūh and his assistant were in charge of constructions.

AKHUR BAK

The Sultān had to take care to see that the army was kept well supplied with horses. The Ākhur Bak or the Superintendent of the royal horses was an important officer of the household.¹ There were two officers of this name, one for the right and the other for the left wing. Bahman Shāh appointed Qimāz² to the post on the right and Khulāṣah³ to the one on the left.

SHAHNAH-I-PIL

The officer in charge of the elephants was named Shahnah-i-Pil (or Fīl). Elephants played an important part in warfare and a separate department was set up to procure, look after and train them. Bahman Shāh bestowed the title of Khusraw Parvīz on the son of Mubārak Khān (Abu Bakr Jawar Banbal) and appointed him Shahnah-i-Pil in spite of his young age.⁴

SHAHNAH-I-KHWAN

In an age in which poison was a common weapon to dispose off enemies, the king had to be very careful about his food. To guard against poisoning, the Sultāns appointed an officer known as the Chashnīgīr. His business was to supervise the kitchen, taste the food and carve the meat for the Sultān.⁵ The designation of the Chashnīgīr was altered into Shahnāh-i-Khwān, and one Maḥmūd was appointed to hold that office.⁶ The designation of this officer, as reported by the *Burhān-i-Ma'āthir*, was Sālār-i-Khwān.⁷ 'Iṣāmī also has used the term Sālār-i-Khwān.⁸

SARABOAR

The water supply of the royal household and kitchen was in the charge of the Sarābdār who had a number of Ābdārs

1. *Minhāj*, pp. 232, 242.

3. *Ibid*, line 2

5. *Qureshī*, p. 63,

7. *The Burhān*, p. 16, line 12.

2. 'Iṣāmī, p. 557, 1st line.

4. *Ibid*, p. 556, lines 12 and 13.

6. 'Iṣāmī, p. 557, line 3.

8. 'Iṣāmī, p. 571, line 18.

under him. This post was bestowed by Bahman Shāh on Shihābu 'd-Dīn Kunwarpāl.¹

KHARĪTAHDĀR

The post of the Kharītahdār was also connected with the royal household. Ibn Baṭṭūṭah writes concerning his brother-in-law, Ibrūhīm Kharītahdār: "He was keeping the paper and pens in the house of the Sultān."² From the details furnished by Ibn Baṭṭūṭah it appears that the Kharītahdār's duties included also countersigning certain orders for payment.³ Bahman Shāh appointed Malik Shādī as Kharītah Kash.⁴ It is not known whether the post of the Kharītah Kash was the same as that of the Kharītahdār or different in certain respects. The literal meaning of Kharītahdār is 'one in charge of maps' and that of Kharītah Kash 'one who draws maps.' Evidently the officer under Bahman Shāh was in charge of preparing maps.

SARDAWĀTDĀR

The royal writing case was in charge of officers known as Dawūdār and their chief was named Sardawūdār. We learn from 'Iṣmī that Bahman Shāh appointed Abū Ṭālib to hold the post of Sardawūdār.⁵

CENTRAL DEPARTMENTS

On a study of the data available, three principal departments can be made out at the Centre—Finance, Military and Judicial cum Religious—under the Wakīl (or Wazīr), the Amīru 'l Umarā', and the Ṣadru 's-Ṣudūr respectively. Although the ruler was the supreme head of the executive and the judiciary, these two departments were kept separate under different Ministers. Muslim legal details having been almost fixed as early as the second century A.H., there was very little scope for fresh legislation and only minor interpretations of law were possible which were left in the hands of the Muftīs (legal advisors).

1. 'Iṣmī, p. 557, line 4.

2. Ibn Baṭṭūṭah, Vol. III, p. 337.

3. Ibid, Vol. II, pp. 82-83.

4. 'Iṣmī, p. 556, line 15.

5. Ibid, p. 556, line 14.

FINANCE DEPARTMENT

WAKIL

At the beginning of his reign, Bahman Shāh bestowed the title of Khwājah Jahān on Muḥammad bin 'Aynu 'd-Dīn, who had been one of the nobles of Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughluq and had deserted to the rebel camp.¹ After winning over Qādī Sayfu 'd-Dīn Ghūrī, who came over to Bahman Shāh after the surrender of Muḥammad bin 'Ālim and the subjugation of Khepras, the noble Qādī was made the Chief Minister² under the designation Wakīl or Nā'ib (of the Sulṭān).³

The Finance Department, in the set up of those days, was under the Wakīl or Wazīr who was assisted by a Nā'ib Wazīr. The Nā'ib Wazīr under Bahman Shāh was Husāmu 'd-Dīn Aqchī.⁴ The Wazīr, "appointed and superintended the civil servants and organised the agency for the collection of the revenue; he also exercised complete control over the various channels of expenditure. His assistants examined all the accounts submitted by the various departments of the government."⁵

KHĀZIN

Bahman Shāh appointed the trustworthly Husayn⁶ (Ḥasan)⁷ bin Tūrān as the Treasurer (Khāzin). From the reports of Ibn Baṭṭūṭah and Baranī, there seems to have been a separate Treasury Department at Dihlī which, in all probability, was copied by the Sulṭān of the Deccan.

DABIR

The department of the Dabīr known as the Dīwān-i-Inshā' was under an officer known as the Dabīr who had several masters of style under him, for letter-writing was a highly

1. 'Iṣāmī, p. 555, lines 6 and 7.

2. Ibid, p. 587-88.

3. Firishṭah, Vol. I. p. 279, line 3.

4. 'Iṣāmī, p. 555, line 15 : The Burhān, p. 16, line 3. 'Iṣāmī's printed text calls him Iḥchī.

5. Qureshī, pp. 80-81.

6. 'Iṣāmī, p. 556, line 10.

7. The Burhān, p. 16, line 10.

cultivated art at this time and the courts vied with one another in the excellence of their communication. Bahman Shāh's Dabīr¹ was Sharfu 'd-Dīn Pārsī who was conferred the title of 'Umdatul-Mulk.² Obviously the Khāzin and the Dabīr were under the direct jurisdiction of the Wakīl (Wazīr), Sayfu 'd-Dīn Ghūrī.

MILITARY DEPARTMENT

AMIRU 'L-UMARĀ'

In connection with the military side of the Central administration under Bahman Shāh, we learn from 'Iṣāmī that Ismā'īl Mukh was made the Amīru', l-Umarā',³ Iliyās was appointed Zahiru 'l-Juyūsh,⁴ Bahram took the office of Nā'ib 'Arīḍ-i-Jaysh⁵ and Shēr Khān of Jālwar was given the post of Sahmu 'l-Hasham⁶ (Bakhshī-i-Fawj).⁷ According to the *Burhān-i-Ma'āthir*, Malik Hindū ('Imādu 'l-Mulk) was appointed to the post of Šāhib-i-'Arḍ⁸ ('Ārīḍ-i-Jaysh).

Whatever might have been the position of the Amīru 'l-Umarā' under the later 'Abbāsīd Caliphs (often they combined in themselves the powers of the Chief Minister as well as those of the War Minister), and under the Sulṭāns of Dihli, Bahman Shāh, at first, placed both the portfolios in the hands of Ismā'īl Mukh.

"To him all the wealth and horse Bahman gave."⁹

Later, after Sayfu 'd-Dīn Ghūrī joined Bahman Shāh, the Sulṭān separated the two departments of Finance and Military and placed the Finance portfolio in the charge of Sayfu 'd-Dīn, confining Ismā'īl Mukh's son, Bahādur Khān, to the Military portfolio. According to Firīshṭah, after the arrival of Sayfu 'd-Dīn, Ismā'īl's position was that of the Chief Noble and the Commander-in-Chief.¹⁰ It is not clear whether

1. The *Burhān*, p. 16, line 6.

2. 'Iṣāmī, p. 556, line 3.

3. *Firīshṭah* Vol. I, p. 277, lines 5 and 4 from below.

4. 'Iṣāmī, p. 556, line 4.

5. *Ibid.*, line 18.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 557, line 5.

7. *Ibid.*, foot-note.

8. The *Burhān*, p. 16, line 2.

9. 'Iṣāmī, p. 570, 1st hemistich of the 3rd couplet.

10. *Firīshṭah*, Vol. I, p. 279, line 3.

any administrative functions were attached to the office of the Amīru 'l-Umarā'. Probably, Ṣahīru 'l-Juyūsh was a title given to an eminent soldier.

The Sāhib-l-'Arḍ ('Āriḍ-i-Jaysh) was responsible "for the entire administration of military affairs.¹ He acted as the chief recruiting officer and fixed the salary of each recruit; the candidates displayed their skill and prowess in his presence and were then put on the pay roll.² At least once a year he inspected the troops and examined the condition of each trooper's equipment and mount.³ The promotion and degradation of the soldiers depended on the 'Āriḍ, who kept the muster rolls and revised salaries at each annual review.⁴ His office was responsible for the recommendation of assignments to soldiers and for the payment of troops.⁵ When a campaign was undertaken, the 'āriḍ was in charge of all preparations.⁶ The choice of troops was generally left to him, though the General was nominated by the Sultān.⁷ In all important wars the 'āriḍ himself accompanied the army."⁸ Bahman Shāh appointed Malik Hindū as 'Āriḍ Jaysh⁹ and Bahrām as Nā'ib 'Āriḍ-i-Jaysh.¹⁰

SAHMU 'L-HASHAM

The Sahmu 'l-Hasham or Bakhshī-i-Fawj, probably, took care of the arrangements of the army and looked to the regular supply of its needs. The term Sahmu 'l-Hasham (Arrow Head of Servants) may be taken to indicate that he was the head of the labour corps.

¹ THE JUDICIAL DEPARTMENT

The Sultān had to "protect the Sharī'at and enforce the Islamic laws in the State. The protection of the Sharī'at

1. Khazā'inu 'l-Futūḥ, p. 59: Baranī, pp. 60, 114, 170: Fatāwa-i-Jahāndārī, ff. 66 b, 70b.

2. Ibn Baṭṭūṭah, II, p. 9: Baranī, p. 102: 'Utbī, pp. 104, 105 etc.

3. 'Aḥf, pp. 299-300.

4. Baranī, pp. 62, 101, 102.

5. 'Aḥf, p. 301.

6. Idem, p. 60.

7. Khazā'inu 'l-Futūḥ, p. 50.

8. Baranī, e.g. p. 326: Qureshī p. 137.

9. The Burhān. p. 16, line 2.

10. 'Iṣmī, p. 556, line 18.

meant the propagation of the knowledge of the *shar'* (Muslim code) and the administration of justice according to it. Thus, both the religious and the judicial department came under the jurisdiction of the *Ṣadr*,¹ who recommended to the Sultān, for suitable grants, the cases of inquirers after truth, such as had renounced the world and the incapacitated. It was the duty of the *Ṣadr* to see that qualified *Qādīs* with sound and approved views, personal integrity and honesty were appointed to administer justice throughout the kingdom. Bahman Shāh appointed *Ṣadru'sh-Sharīf Samarqandī* to this important post of the Chief Judicial authority of the State. No separate *Qādiu 'l-Quḍāt* seems to have been appointed.

QADIU 'L'ASKAR

Mīr Munajjim Badakhshī was appointed *Qādiu 'l-'Askar* (Army Judge). Even during the early days of Islam, *Qādīs* were sent with the army. The Jurisdiction of the *Qādiu 'l-'Askar* was confined to the military camps.

THE PROVINCES

Bahman Shāh is reported to have divided his kingdom into provinces each of which was known as a *ṭaraf* and was placed under a *Ṭarafdār* (Governor). The times were dangerous and Bahman Shāh himself had revolted against his master. Therefore, he took elaborate precautions against any revolt and gave the governorships to his very close relatives. Sayfu 'd-Dīn, whose daughter was the wife of the heir-apparent, was made the Governor of the province of Gulbargah and Sayfu 'd-Dīn's son, A'zam-i-Humāyūn, that of Bīdar.² Bahrām Khān Māzandarānī,³ the nephew and son-in-law of Bahman Shāh was appointed Governor of Dawlatābād. *Ṣafdar Khān Sīstānī*, probably another relative of the Sultān, was put in charge of the province of Berār.

1. S.A.Q. Husaini. *Administration under the Mughuls*, p. 84.

2. *Firishtah*, Vol. I, p. 280, below.

3. *The Burhān*, p. 29, lines 13 and 14. *Firishtah* writes that 'Alī Shāh's son, Khān Muḥammad, was given the Governorship of Dawlatābād, (Vol. I, p. 180, line 6 from below). 'Abdul Jabbar writes that Bahrām was made the Governor and Khān Muḥammad his deputy (p. 74).

Bahman Shāh divided his kingdom into four provinces. The province of Gulbargah "extended on the west to the Arabian Sea, on the north to the eighteenth parallel of latitude, on the south to the Tungabhadra and on the east to the Banathora and a line drawn from its confluence with the Bhīma to the confluence of the Krishna and the Tungabhadra."¹ To the north of Gulbargah lay the province of Dawlatābād, bounded on the north west by the petty state of Baglāna, north by the River Tapti and north-east by the South Purna. North-east of the province of Dawlatābād lay that of Berar which, east of Burhānpūr, was bounded on the north by the North Purna and on the east by the Pus River and the Satmala Range and extended on the south-west to the South Purna and on the south to the Gōdāvarī, and on the west approximately to its present limits. The fourth province was Bīdar, or Muhammadan Telingāna, which included the towns and districts of Bīdar, Kandhār, Indūr, Kawlās, Kotgīr, Medak and as much of Telingāna as was comprised in the kingdom of Bahman Shāh, extending eastward as far as Bhongīr.

Naturally there should have been departments of Finance, Army and Justice in the provinces and their sub-divisions also. Although we have plenty of information regarding the general set up in those days, no historian dealing with the reign of Bahman Shāh has given the details. Moreover, the details we get relate to those provinces which had been under the Muslim rule for a considerable length of time. The Deccan had been under the nominal rule of the Muslims only for about three decades when Bahman Shāh ascended the throne, the effective rule having been in the hands of the Hindu chiefs. Of course, a large number of *iqṭā's* or *jāgīrs* had been assigned to Muslim military officers.

THE IQṬA'S

Concerning the sub-divisions of a province, all that we know is that a group of one hundred villages formed a *ṣadl*.

1. The Cambridge History of India, Vol. III, p. 374.

It is not possible to ascertain if there was a fixed unit between the *ṣadī* and the *ṭaraf*. 'Iṣāmī has used the word *parganāt* in a general sense. Possibly, the terms *ṣadī* and *parganah* were used to indicate the same unit of division as surmised by Dr. Qureshī,¹ From the data at our disposal we can assume that each province consisted of several *iqṭā*'s or *jāgīrs* the size of each of which depended on the importance of the holder. We know that Ḥusāmu 'd-Dīn was given the *iqṭā*' of Satāra² under Nāṣiru 'd-Dīn and that Prince Muḥammad's *jagīr* comprised Balgāon, Hukayrī and Miraj.³ Nārāyan was left in charge of a large territory which included Mudhōl, Bagarkōt, Tardal and Jāmkhandi.⁴ Khepras was allowed to enjoy the *jāgīr* of Khembhavi.⁵ Ṣafdar Khān was in charge of Sagar⁶ and Muḥammad bin 'Aynu 'd-Dīn in that of Gulbargah.⁷ Quṭbu 'l-Mulk's *iqṭā*' comprised Mahēndrī, Akkal-kōt and Maram.⁸ Sikandar Khān is reported to have held Kōir and Bīdar,⁹ and Qīr Khān, Kalyānī.¹⁰ Akād was given to Ismā'il Mukh¹¹ and Kandhra (Kandhār) to Ḥusayn Hatiyah.¹² We learn from 'Iṣāmī that Sayfu 'd-Dīn Ghūrī had held the *iqṭā*' of Irgah¹³ (Arka)¹⁴ before he joined Bahman Shāh. Other nobles such as Bahrām Khān, Faṭḥu 'l-Mulk, Qadr Khān, Mubarak Khūn, Naṣīru 'd-Dīn Taghalchī and others should also have had their *iqṭā*'s or *jāgīrs* in the kingdom. Thus, it may be almost safe to assume that each of the provinces was divided into *iqṭā*'s or assignments and that an assignment consisted of one or more *ṣadīs* according to the importance of the assignee.

THE SADĪ

The *ṣadī*, as I have shown in greater detail in appendix B, was a collection of one hundred villages. Each *ṣadī* had a number of functionaries, most of them Hindus.

- | | |
|----------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1. Qureshī, p. 204. | 2. 'Iṣāmī, p. 520, lines 2 and 3. |
| 3. The Burhān, p. 29, lines 11 and 12. | 4. 'Iṣāmī, p. 591, lines 13-15. |
| 5. 'Iṣāmī p. 575. | 6. Ibid. |
| 7. Ibid, p. 557. | 8. Ibid, pp. 557 and 562. |
| 9. Ibid, p. 557. | 10. Ibid. |
| 11. Ibid. | 12. Ibid |
| 13. Ibid, p. 588. | 14. Sherwānī, p. 35. |

REVENUE

Usually revenue was collected by the village headman who enjoyed certain concessions in lieu of his service. Often the revenue of a village or villages was farmed out, i.e., given on a contract for a fixed amount. Each village had an accountant, a messenger and a low caste menial servant. Land-tax formed the chief source of revenue under Bahman Shāh. Besides, he derived income from the cesses, duties, tribute paid by the Hindu Zamīndārs like Nārāyan, Khepres and others and presents offered on special occasions by officials.

There is no mention by 'Iṣāmī of Bahman Shāh having collected the *jizyah* from his non-Muslim subjects. According to Baranī, taxation in Mahārashtra was heavy,¹ and possibly Bahman Shāh did not like to augment the burden of tax. Professors H.K. Shērwanī² and A.M. Siddiqī³ state on the authority of 'Abdul Jabbār that Bahman Shāh did not collect the *jizyah* from his Hindu subjects. In one passage 'Abdul Jabbār mentions the *Jizyah* as one of the taxes collected under Bahman Shāh.⁴

JUSTICE

The bulk of the population was Hindu. "The non-Muslims could not be subjected to the *shar'* and the Muslim Qāḍīs could not administer local laws. Hence, from the beginning, Muslim rulers wisely left the settlement of disputes among their non-Muslim subjects to their chiefs and priests. Only when disputes among non-Muslims took a turn which was likely to affect law and order, the Government interfered."⁵

In the principal towns of the kingdom, where there was a considerable Muslim population, a Qāḍī was appointed, and we have the names of several Qāḍīs in the court of Bahman Shāh—Ṣadru 'sh-Sharīf Samarqandī,⁶ Qāḍī Sayfu 'd-Dīn Ghūrī,⁷ Qāḍī Bahā'u 'd-Dīn.⁸ Evidently, as was the practice

1. Mahdī Husain, p. 226.

2. Shērwanī, p. 66.

3. Siddiqī, p. 72.

4. Maḥbūb 'l-Waṣan, p. 129 (below.)

5. S.A.Q. Husaini; *Administration under the Mughuls*, p. 194.6. *Firishrah*, Vol. I, p. 277, line 20.

7. 'Iṣāmī, p. 588.

8. *Ibid*, p. 556, last but one line.

among the Muslims, each military camp or garrison had a Qāḍī 'l-'Askar (Judge of the Army). We learn from Firishtah that Mīr Munajjim Badakshī was appointed as Qāḍī 'l-'Askar.¹

"The Muslim rulers, out of their usual foresight, did not interfere with the local government of the villages. The villagers managed their own affairs through their headman who was chosen from among themselves according to the custom of the locality."² The village council (Panchāyat) decided all kinds of disputes, civil, criminal, religious or social. Ludlow, dealing with the village government in India writes: "So long as it remains untouched, India, by whatever despots ruled, is but a mass of little independent states, tiny constitutional monarchies, within their own spheres, however limited, self-acting self-governing. This people of slaves, if only left to themselves, are in possession of the most perfect municipal freedom."³ There is no evidence to show that Bahman Shāh ever deviated from the ancient Muslim practice and interfered with the 'perfect municipal freedom' of the villages about which Ludlow is so eloquent. Firishtah has reported that Bahman Shāh repaired the fort of Gulbargah and constructed the Jāmi' Masjid within a very short space of time.⁴ Hence we may assume that a Public Works Department was established or was in the making.

NATURE OF GOVERNMENT

By necessity Bahman's rule was a military one and the State was a Police State. Still Bahman endeavoured to make his rule as mild as possible consistent with the safety of the new kingdom. The justification for the revolt against Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughluq having been his cruelty towards Muslims, Bahman could not afford to commit the same mistake. Such of the officers of the Sulṭān of Dihlī, as were reduced by Bahman Shāh, both Hindus and Muslims, were not only pardoned by him but also won over and in several instances

1. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 277, line 20.

2. S.A.Q. Husaini: *Administration under the Mughuls*, p. 232.

3. Ludlow: *British India: Its Races and Its History*, Vol. I, pp. 64-65.

4. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 278, line 11.

given responsible charges. Tāju 'd-Dīn, son of Qala'atā, who had fought on the side of Sartīz, was left in charge of Bīr.¹ Mu'īnu 'd-Dīn of Tālikōta,² Khepras,⁴ Nārāyan⁴ and several others were pardoned and allowed to retain their former *jāgīrs*. Even those who revolted against Bahman Shāh like Muḥammad bin 'Ālim at Sagar⁵ and Qīr Khān of Kōīr⁶ were pardoned. Certain powerful officers like Qādī (Malik) Sayfu 'd-Dīn were won over by appropriate promises. No case of deliberate excess against any Muslim is recorded.

Of course, the case was not the same where Hindus were concerned. Many Hindu chiefs he pardoned, but when a Hindu force made a night attack on Bahman's camp in the vicinity of Jāmkhāndī, and failing in it, several Hindus were made prisoners, some of them were impaled on stakes and their chief, impaled on a stake, was paraded round the fort.⁷ Barring this solitary instance in which some of the Hindu night attackers were either flung to be trampled by elephants or impaled on stakes, no case of excess by Bahman Shāh, even in those rough and rude days, is reported. It is highly refreshing to note that there was no instance of flaying alive, putting out of eyes maiming or disfiguring. Having regard to the age in which Bahman Shāh flourished, we can safely say that his rule was mild, humane and moderate. No case of treachery by the Sulṭān of the Deccan is reported. He behaved well with those who trusted him and was generous towards those who surrendered themselves.

On the whole, Bahman's rule was firm but moderate, vigilant yet tolerant and forgiving. As we have already seen, he set free most of the prisoners in his kingdom and gave away all the wealth he had in the treasury to the poor. It appears as if he was bent on doing as much good as possible without jeopardizing the security of his position as the Sulṭān of a new kingdom.

1. 'Iṣāmī, p. 549-50.

3. 'Iṣāmī, p. 485-86.

5. Ibid, p. 583.

7. Ibid, p. 593.

2. The Burhān, p. 22.

4. Ibid, p. 596.

6. Ibid, p. 602.

APPENDIX A DETAILS OF THE COINS REPRODUCED IN THIS WORK

PLATE I.

THE COIN OF NASIRU 'D-DIN ISMA'IL (MUKH).

Nāṣiru 'd-Dunyā wa 'd-Dīn Abu 'l-Faṭḥ Ismā'il Shāh
(J.A.S.B., 1895, Plate V, Fig. 36).

PLATE III.

COINS OF 'ALĀ'U 'D-DIN BAHMAN SHAH

Figure 1.

Silver, A.H. 758, Area 1.05,	Weight 160.4.
Obverse	Reverse
The very great Sulṭān	The second Alexander,
'Alā'u 'd-Dunyā wa 'd-Dīn	Right hand of the Kbilāfat,
Abu 'l-Muẓaffar Bahman Shāh	Helper of the Commander
as-Sulṭān	of the Faithful, 758.
(Numismatic Chronicle, 1881, p. III, Plate V, Fig. 1).	

Figure 2.

Silver, Gibb's No. 1 bears the date A.H. 758, but the legend of the third line of obverse is *Bahman Shāh*.

Silver, Area .55,	Weight 26.
Obverse	Reverse
The very great Sulṭān	Abu 'l-Muẓaffar
'Alā'u 'd-	Bahman Shāh
Dunyā wa 'd-Dīn	as-Sulṭān.
(Numismatic Chronicle, 1898, p. 263, Plate XVII, Fig. 2)	

There is also a smaller size with similar legend,

Area .45.	Weight 15.
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Figure 3.

Copper, Area 6,	Weight 67.
Obverse within circle	Reverse within circle
The very great Sulṭān	Bahman Shāh as-Sulṭān.
(Numismatic Chronicle, 1898, p. 263, Plate XVII, Fig. 4).	

In the Numismatic Chronicle, 1898, p. 263, the legend on the reverse has been read as *Shāh al-Ḥasan as-Sulṭān*. I think the word is *Bahman* and not *al-Ḥasan*. If we read it as *al-Ḥasan*, the upper semi-circle of the *hā'*, which is quite distinct, is left out.

PLATE IV.
COINS OF MUHAMMAD SHĀH I.

Figure 1.

Gold—Dr. Da Cunha—unique—size .85—Weight ... grs.
—Mint Aḥsanābād—date A.H. 763.

Obverse	Reverse
The Sulṭān of the Age and Time Defender of the Religion of the Messenger of the Most Merciful (God),	Muḥammad (son of) Ḥasan Bahmanī.

Margin :

Minted at the capital of Aḥsanābād in the year 763 A.H.
(Numismatic Chronicle, 1885, p. 213).

Figure 2.

Silver, Aḥsanābād, A.H. 760, Area 1.1, Weight 166.

Obverse	Reverse
The Sulṭān of the Age and Time, Defender of the Religion of the Messenger of the Most Merciful (God),	Abu 'l-Muẓaffar Muḥammad, son of Bahman Shāh, the Sulṭān.

Margin on reverse :

Minted at the capital of Aḥsanābād, 772 A.H.
(Numismatic Chronicle, 1881, p. 111).

APPENDIX B

AMIR-I-SADAH

For the sake of convenience I have translated the term as "Centurion" following Sir Wolseley Haig. According to him "The term centurion literally translates the 'amīrs of hundreds' or Yūzbāshī, who were not, however, purely military officers, but revenue officials responsible for the collection of taxes in groups of about a hundred villages each, who were entitled to a commission of five per cent on their collections."¹

Ibn Baṭṭūṭah clearly writes : "These people give the name of ṣadī to the collection of a hundred villages."² He names the ṣadī of Hindpat, "which can easily be recognised as the *pargana* of Indrapat in the suburb of Dehli."³ The ancient administrative system of India had units of one hundred villages as borne out by the *Shukrānti*,⁴ *Vishnu-smṛiti*⁵ and *Manu Dharma Shāstra*.⁶ These aggregations of one hundred villages each seem to have persisted in the Deccan even after the conquest of that region by the Muslims. Thus, an Amīr-i-Ṣadah was a revenue officer in charge of a Ṣadī,

Most of them Amīrān-i-Ṣadah appear to have been military officers as well, which fact made Sir E. C. Bayley think that in the case of the officers of the Deccan who revolted against Muḥammad bin Tughluq, the term Amīrān-i-Ṣadah designates a class of persons who seem to have approached in character the "freelances"⁷ of the Middle Ages in Europe on whom loyalty sat but lightly.

1. Cambridge History of India, Vol. III, p. 166, foot-note 2.

2. Ibn Baṭṭūṭah, Vol. II, p. 78.

3. Qureshi, p. 203.

4. Translated by B.K. Sarkar, p. 25.

5. Translated by Julius Jolly, Vol. III, pp. 7-15.

6. Translated by A.C. Burnell, pp. 115-19.

7. Sir E.C. Bayley, *Gujarat*, p. 43 n. quoted by Major King, *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 142, foot-note 4.

APPENDIX C MUKH AND YAL.

MUKH

This part of the name appears in various texts as *Mukh*¹ *Mugh*² and *Faṭḥ*.³ Baranī calls him *Makh*. Dr. Maḥdī Ḥusain has transliterated the word as *Makh*⁴ and Sir Wolseley Haig as *Mukh*.⁵ Professor Shērwanī prefers the term *Mukh* which means fire or wasp.⁶ Both Badā'ūnī and Firishtah give the word as *Faṭḥ*. Ismā'il's full regnal name was Abu'l-Faṭḥ Nāṣiru 'd-Dīn Ismā'il Shāh.⁷ As Professor Shērwanī suggests, this might have made Badā'ūnī and Firishtah think that the proper word was *Faṭḥ*.

YAL.

Baranī writes the term as *Yal*,⁸ *Firishtah* as *Gul*⁹ and Ibn Baṭṭūṣah as *Mall*.¹⁰ Professor Shērwanī says, "I am inclined to think that his sobriquet was *Malik Yal* as it will go well with *Mukh* of Ismā'il, for *Yal*=athlete, wrestler, while *Mukh*=fire, wasp."

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1. Baranī p. 114.
 2. Brigg's translation of *Firishtah*, Vol. II, pp. 287-88.
 3. Badā'ūnī, p. 236 and *Firishtah*, p. 255.
 4. Maḥdī Ḥusain, p. 184.
 5. The Cambridge History of India, Vol. III p. 168, foot-note 1.
 6. Shērwanī, p. 45, foot-note 57.
 7. See the reproduction of his coin on plate I.
 8. Baranī, p. 514.
 9. *Firishtah*, Vol. I, p. 142, line 8.
 10. Ibn Baṭṭūṣah, Vol. III, p. 366.

APPENDIX D

CERTAIN PLACE NAMES

AWRAH : It is a town in Gujarāt over which Muqbil was appointed as the officer of Muḥammad Tughluq and where Qāḍi Jalal's revolt took place.¹ Major King has wrongly read it as Awadh,² one of the two provinces which comprised the United Provinces (now the state of Uttar Pradēsh).

CHANCHWĀL (Chinehōlī) a taluq headquarters in the north-east of the Gulbargah district, Hyderābād State; *Imperial Gazetteer*, Vol. X, page 227.

KEMBHAVI (Kinbari or Kinba) is in the Gulbargah District of the Hyderābād State; 16.37 N. 76.32 E. (Shērwānī).

KOTGĪR or Kotagirī is in the Nizāmābād District of the Hyderābād State, about 4 miles east of the Mānjira; 18.35N. 77.53E (Shērwānī).

MANDVĀ : The *Burhān-i-Ma'āthir* gives the word as (Mandū),³ a town which is beyond the Narbada and more than seventy miles beyond the Taptī. No report says that Bahman Shāh ever crossed the Taptī and it will be definitely incorrect to assume that he crossed the Taptī as well as the Narbada and subdued Mandū. Probably the town subdued by Bahman Shāh was Mandvā on the Taptī commanding the pass between the Satpura Range and the Gawilgarh Hills. The town is on the Bombay-Agra-Delhi line, 20 miles to the north-east of Burhānpūr.

MĀNIK DŪN : Firishtah calls the pass Mānik Dūn⁴ in one place and in another place Mānik Ganj.⁵ He says that it was between the townships of Kaj and Dūn.⁶ Badā'ūnī gives the name as Mānik Ganj.⁷ According to 'Iṣāmī the spot

1. 'Iṣāmī, pp. 503-504.

2. *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 144.

3. The *Burhān* p. 27, last line.

4. *Firishtah*, Vol I, p. 142, line 2.

5. *Ibid*, p. 275, first line.

6. *Ibid*, p. 142, line 2.

7. *Badā'ūnī*, p. 235 : *Sherwānī*, p. 44.

where the revolt took place was less than a *manzil* from Dawlatābād.¹ Ibn Baṭṭūṭah places the revolt in Dawlatābād itself.² Hence, Mānik Ganj must have been not far from the capital of the Deccan.

MARAM; 'Iṣāmī's text has the word as Burum with *ḍammah* to both *bā'* and *rā'*.³ The Burhān also calls the place Burum.⁴ Major King⁵ and Sir Wolseley Haig think the word is Bhūm.⁶ Professor Shērwanī identifies the place with "Maram in the Osmānābād District of the Hyderābād State on the river Benathora; 17.47 N., 76.29 E."

PĀTUDAH; a taluq headquarters in the Bīr (Bhīr) district *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. XX, page 73 (New Edition), Oxford, 1908.

SAYYIDĀBĀD: Quṭbu 'l-Mulk renamed Mahēndrī (Mundārgī) Sayyidābād and the town renamed was not Akkalkot.⁷

SINGHTAN: Of the two manuscripts consulted by the editor of the Madras edition of the *Furūḡu 's-Salāṭīn*, Mr. S.A. Ūshā, the India Office copy has the word as Sindhthan⁸ and the Hyderābād copy as Sindhen¹⁰ in both the places where the word occurs. Professor Shērwanī thinks that it may be identified with the modern Sindkher in the Bīr district of the Hyderābād State.¹¹

SULṬĀNPŪR: Firishtah's account seems to be discrepant. It is not understandable why the army should have been ordered to proceed to Mālwah through Sulṭānpūr. Two towns with that name are known to me in the Deccan.

1. 'Iṣāmī, p. 516, line 14.

2. Ibn Baṭṭūṭah, Vol. III, pp. 365-66.

3. 'Iṣāmī, p. 562, line 8.

4. The Burhān, p. 17, line 10.

5. Indian Antiquary, Vol. XXVIII, p. 145.

6. The Cambridge History of India, Vol. III, p. 373.

7. 'Iṣāmī, pp. 562, line 3: The Burhān, p. 17, line 11: Indian Antiquary, Vol. XXVIII, p. 145.

8. Shērwanī, p. 53.

9. 'Iṣāmī, pp. 546 and 549.

10. Ibid, foot-notes.

11. Shērwanī, page 46.

One was Warangal, the capital of Kāpaya Nāyaka's kingdom and the other a township in the Bombay State. The army was assembled at Dawlatābād and was to invade Mālwah. There was no reason for marching south to the Sulṭānpūr near Satāra. Nor was there any point in advancing through Warangal which lay far east of the route to Mālwah. Moreover, Kāpaya Nāyaka was still a powerful ruler and he would have resisted tooth and nail the passage of Bahman Shāh's army through his capital. It would have meant renewal of war with Telingāna.

If Firishtah's account (Vol. I, p. 286, line 5) is correct, Sulṭānpūr should be identified with some town in the north between Dawlatābād and Mālwah (on the route to that country) like Shāhpūr to the south of Burhānpūr, on the way to Mālwah through the pass between the Satpura Range and the Gawilgarh Hills.

APPENDIX E

MANUSCRIPTS CONSULTED

To ascertain how the term *Qangawī* has been written in the various original works, I consulted the following manuscripts :—

I. BARANĪ : TA'RĪKH-I-FĪRŪZSHĀHĪ.

(a) Government Oriental Manuscript Library, Madras. Ms. No. 298, Folio 159(b), line 4 *Hasan Kānkū*.

(b) Buhār Library (National Library, Calcutta) Ms. No. 61, Folio 156, line 7 *Hasan Kānkū*.

(c) Central Record Office, Hyderābād, Deccan, Accession Manuscript No. 953. The pages are not numbered. The Manuscript has the word as *Kānkū*.

II. NIZĀMU 'D-DĪN AḤMAD : ṬABAQĀT-I-AKBARĪ.

(a) Buhār Library (National Library, Calcutta) Ms. No. 60, Fol. 395(a), 1st line, *Kānkū*. Nizāmu 'd-Dīn has obviously copied this word from Baranī.

III. AMĪN AḤMAD RĀZĪ : HAFT IQLĪM.

(a) The Asiatic Society of Bengal Library (No. D1347) copy has on Fol. 25(a), line 6, *Kānkawī*. It appears that the *yā'* is the one found in several manuscripts of *Firishtah* and *Khāfī Khān* and the printed copy of the *Buhān-i-Ma'ā-thir* and several other works. But the lower stroke of the *yā-i-majhūl* is missing as also the noon after the *alif* of *Kānkawī*.

(b) There is another copy of the work in the Osmania University, Hyderābād, Persian Manuscript Aquisition No. 1042. Folio 35(a), line 9 has the word as in the Buhār Library copy.

IV. FIRISHTAH : GULSHAN-I-IBRĀHĪMĪ

(a) Central Record Office, Hyderābād, Accession Ms. No. 727, Fol. 1(a), line 6 has *Kānkawī*. In other places both *Kānkū* and *Kānkawī* are written.

(b) Āṣīfīyah Library, No. 1074, Vol. II, Opening page, line 16 has *Kānkawī*. In other places both *Kānkū* and *Kānkawī* occur.

(c) Municipal Hall Library, Karachi, Old Manuscript No. 167, The manuscript was completed on the 27th of Rajab, 1247 A.H. (January, 1832). On page 519 and the subsequent pages everywhere the term is written as *Kānkawī*.

V. KHĀFĪ KHĀN: MUNTAKHABU 'L-LUBĀB.

(a) Āṣīfīyah Library, No. 403, Folio 4 (b) lines 2 and 4, Folio 5(a) lines 12 and 13 and everywhere else it is written *Kānkawī*, Admittedly Khāfī Khān has copied from *Firishtah*.

VI. TA'RĪKH-I-SALĀṬĪN-I-BAHMANĪYĀH

Urdū Manuscript Acquisition No. 3 of the Osmania University Library has the heading on Fol. 7(b) as *Hasan Qānūngū-i-Bahmanī*, but in the body of the book it is written *Hasan Kānkū Bahmanī*.

APPENDIX F

ORIGINAL SOURCES

1. TAZJIYATU 'L-AMŞĀRI WA TAJRIYATU 'L-A'ŞĀR

The author of the book Sharfu 'd-Dīn 'Abdullāh bin Faḍlillāh Shīrāzī, commonly known as Waṣṣāf or Waṣṣāfu 'l-Ḥaḍrat (panegyrist of the court) was employed as a tax collector under the Mongols. He became the protégé of the minister and historian, Rashīdu 'd-Dīn. Waṣṣāf's history covers the period 1257-1328. It contains an authentic account of contemporary events and gives some very interesting details about Ma'bar (Tamil Nāḍ) and the trade between the Muslims and the rulers of Mā'bar.

2. THE RIHLAH OF IBN BATṬŪṬAH

Ibn Batṭūṭah, who was born at Tangier, on 24th February, 1304, and left his native country at the age of twenty-one with the object of performing the Ḥajj, travelled in the countries of Egypt, Syria, Arabia, 'Irāq and Persia and also visited the trading stations on the east coast of Africa, visiting Makkah several times in the meanwhile. He also travelled in Asia Minor and Central Asia before reaching India by the north-western gateway and reached Dihlī where he shared the Sulṭān's bounty and was appointed as Mālikite Qāḍī of that city. In 1342 A.H. Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughluq sent him at the head of a mission to the most powerful ruler in the world of his time, the Mongol Emperor of China.

"Scarcely had he left the walls of Delhi when his adventures began. For eight days he was a hunted fugitive, and though he escaped to rejoin his embassy in its progress through India, it was only to be left with nothing but the clothes he stood up in and his prayer-mat on the shore at Calicut. To go on with his mission in the circumstances was impossible; to return to Delhi was to incur the wrath of Sultan Muhammad."¹ Hence he decided to continue his

1. H.A.R. Gibb : *Travels of Ibn Batṭūṭah*, p. 7.

travel in Malabār, Ma'bar, the Maldiv Islands and Ceylon. He visited Madura, the capital of the Salṭanat of Ma'bar (Tamil Nād), both before and after his visit to China and the East Indies and lived there for several months each time.

As Ibn Baṭṭūṭah had married at Dihlī, Hūr Nasab, the daughter of the first Sulṭān of Madura, his knowledge about that Salṭanat is intimate and of immense value. He left India about the year 1347 and was in Syria at the outbreak of the first "Black Death" in 1348. Hence his narration of Indian events as an eye witness ends about the time of the accession of Bahman Shāh. He has given some valuable information about the revolt of the *Amīrān-i-Sadah* leading to the elevation of Ismā'il Mukh to the throne of the Deccan. Ibn Baṭṭūṭah is the most valuable and accurate authority on the Salṭanat of Madura, and I have made a full use of his inestimable work for a separate study of the history of that kingdom.

For his details Ibn Baṭṭūṭah "relied exclusively on his memory" and hence is liable to slips. Such errors are many, but as far as his account of the Salṭanat of Madura is concerned, I have not been able to detect any.

3. THE FUTŪHU 'S-SALĀṬĪN

Of the contemporary histories, written during the reign of Bahman Shāh in his own kingdom, two are known to us—the *Futūhu 's-Salāṭīn* of 'Iṣāmī and the *Mulḥaqāt-i-Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* by 'Aynu 'd-Dīn Bijāpūrī who bore the title of Ganju 'i-'Ulūm. 'Iṣāmī came of the family of the famous Fakhrū 'i-Mulk 'Iṣāmī, who had served as the Wazīr of the Khaliṣah and then, on coming to India, was made the Wazīr of Īltutmish. He was born at Dihlī about the year 1310 A.D., and had to come to Dawlatābād at the time the citizens of Dihlī were forced by Muḥammad bin Tughluq to migrate to the new capital in the South¹ and lived in that city till the

1. *Futūhu 's-Salāṭīn*, (Madras Edn.), pp. 446-50.

completion of his work, *Futūhu 's-Salāṭīn*, on the 14th May, 1350 A.D. Thus, he had a personal knowledge of all the principal events which took place in that city from the time it was made the capital of Hindustān to the crowning of Bahman Shāh, and of the chief events of Bahman's reign up to the defeat and capture of Qīr Khān.

At Dawlatābād, 'Iṣāmī came into contact with Bahā'u 'd-Dīn, the Qādī of the court, who was himself a good scholar and patron of learned men, and through him got introduced to Sulṭān Bahman Shāh. The State archives were placed at his disposal and also the assistance of those who were well acquainted with the facts of history.

Naturally, one would expect some reliable information from 'Iṣāmī concerning the family and early life of Bahman Shāh. In this respect 'Iṣāmī's work is disappointing. He writes that Bahman Shāh was (claimed to be) a descendant of Bahman, son of Isfandiyār, the ancient king of Persia, and gives Hasan's full regnal name as Abu 'l-Muẓaffar 'Alā'u 'd-Dīn Bahman Shāh which completely agrees with the numismatic and inscriptional evidence available to us. The earliest detail in the life of Bahman Shāh, which 'Iṣāmī furnishes us with, is that he fought in the army of Dihlī against Bahā'u 'd-Dīn Gurshāsp soon after Muḥammad ascended the throne and much before Qutluḡ Khān became the Governor of the Deccan.

'Iṣāmī claims to have composed the entire work containing 12,000 verses in about five months. Yet it is a work of some literary worth and the language is simple and direct devoid of rhetorical artifices and unpleasant exaggerations.

It is to be regretted that some historians, who had utilized the material from 'Iṣāmī's work for their own books, do not mention him even by name. Ṭabāṭabā', the author of the *Burhān-i-Ma'āthir* appears to have mostly borrowed with little or no acknowledgement from 'Iṣāmī to whom he is indebted

for all the details relative to the history of Sulṭān 'Alā'u 'd-Dīn Bahman. The author of the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* made use of 'Iṣāmī's work without giving reference to it. Firishtah, the historian at the Court of Bijāpūr, cites 'Iṣāmī only for unimportant details."¹

This valuable work gives an account of only the first three years of Sulṭān Bahman Shāh's rule. The *Mulḥaqāt* of 'Aynu 'd-Dīn having been lost, for the remaining nine years of Bahman's history we have to depend on non-contemporary writings, some of which have referred to the last mentioned work.

4. THE MULHAQĀT

The *Mulḥaqāt-i-Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* was written by 'Aynu 'd-Dīn Bijāpūrī (Ganju 'l-'Ulūm), a contemporary of Bahman Shāh. Firishtah has referred to the work in several places and Mawlawī 'Abdul Jabbār has given many details based on it. Unfortunately no copy of the book is known to exist anywhere in the world.

The Mawlawī Šāhib writes that he possessed a copy of the *Mulḥaqāt* and that he lost it in the flood of the Mūsi River on the 1st of Ramaḍān, 1326 A.H., along with a large number of other works which he had collected. There is no special reason to doubt the veracity of the Mawlawī Šāhib concerning the loss of his treasure of rare manuscripts, but it is difficult to give full credence to the accuracy of the details which he gives from the great mass of books which he has lost. (See pp. 25 seqq.).

5. THE TA'RĪKH-I-FIRŪZSHĀHĪ

The author, Dīyā'u 'd-Dīn Baranī (1286-1359), a contemporary of Bahman Shāh, was a man of noble descent who served as an attendant at the court of Muḥammad bin Tughluq for many years. After the death of Muḥammad, he

1. Forward to the Madras edition of the *Futūḥu 's-Sulṭān* by Dr. S. Muḥammad Husayn Naīnār, p. VII.

became a disappointed man and died in abject penury, solitary and friendless. "Baranī's work is singularly devoid of order and arrangement.....He himself deplores more than once this lack of order and arrangement."¹

Baranī has given details about the revolt of the Amīrān-i-Ṣadah, the election of Ismā'īl Mukh and his abdication in favour of Ḥasan. But he has not given any details about the rule of Bahman Shāh. He was attached to the court at Dihlī and hence he pours out foul abuses on the rebels. "Ḥasan Kānkū" was one of them.

6. THE TUHFATU 'S-SALĀṬĪN

Firishtah mentions three books—Sirāju 't-Tawārīkh, Tuḥfatu 's-Salāṭīn and Bahman Nāmah—which refer to the fact that Ḥasan was descended from Bahman, son of Isfandiyār.² But none of the three books is available to us. I went to Hyderābād in search of these books as well as the Ta'rīkh-i-Tāhīrī, Muḥaqāṭ, and 'Uyūnu 't-Tawārīkh. I made a thorough search in the Āṣifiyah Library, Sa'īdiyyah Library, Sir Sālārjung's Library, Osmania University Library, and Central Record Office Library. I consulted veteran scholars like Professors Shērwanī and 'Abdul Majīd Shiddīqī. They assured me that these books are lost.

The Tuḥfatu 's-Salāṭīn was written by Mullā Dā'ūd Bīdarī during the reign of Fīrūz Shāh Bahmanī (1397-1422). 'Abdul Jabbār writes that the author died in 817 A.H. (1414-1415 A.D.),

7. THE BAHMAN NĀMAH

The Bahman Nāmah, a history of the Bahmanī dynasty in poetry, was composed by Ādharī of Isfarāyīn (in Khurāsān) who was a Sūfī of some repute. Ādharī was patronised by Aḥmad Walī Bahmanī (1422—1436) and induced to compose the Bahman Nāmah. The book is now lost. If we can depend on the fragments preserved in quotations and on the manus-

1. Dr. Maḥdī Hussain, p. 250.

2. Firishtah, p. 281.

cript of his *diwān* in the Oriental Manuscript Library Madras, he was more of a Sufi and man of God than a poet. Ādharī went back to Isfarāyīn before Aḥmad's death, but there he continued writing the history until his own death in 1462. "It was carried by various hands until the last days of the dynasty, and some of the poetasters, who disfigured the work with their turgid bombast, imprudently claimed the whole as their own."¹

According to Firishtah, the Bahman Nāmah casually mentions that Ḥasan was descended from Bahman, son of Isfandiyār, but the author is not prepared to grant that the work was composed by Shaykh Ādharī because the work is wanting in literary excellence.

8. THE DĪWĀN-I-ĀDHARĪ

I came across a manuscript in the Government Oriental Manuscript Library, Madras, (D. No. 889), with the title "Dīwān-i-Ādharī". It has been transcribed from an "outside" manuscript in the year 1946 and contains 120 folios of 240 pages, each page having nine lines. The literary merit of the Dīwān is not comparable with that of works emanating from the pens of masters like Jāmī and Ḥāfiz. The language is simple and direct, the tone didactic and the ideas Sūfistic. The manuscript has been very badly transcribed and is full of errors. Firishtah's report on the literary merit of the Bahman Nāmah is fully corroborated by the *dīwān* attributed to him. The evidence, taken as a whole, proves the fact that Ādharī was not a good poet but a Sūfī with integrity whose reports can be depended upon.

9. THE 'UYŪNU 'T-TAWĀRIKH

Sayyid 'Alī Ṭabāṭabā' and Amīn Aḥmad Rāzī have quoted the 'Uyūnu 't-Tawārikh as the book which gives the genealogy of Ḥasan leading back to Bahrām Gūr who is supposed to be descended from Bahman, son of Isfandiyār. But none of the two writers has given the author's name. Firishtah

1. Cambridge History of India, Vol. III, p. 403.

has mentioned a "risālah" (booklet) which he saw in the royal library at Aḥmadnagar and which contained the genealogy of Bahman Shāh leading back to Bahrām Gūr. He has omitted the name of the risālah and states that he could not find the name of the author anywhere in the book. The book itself is lost, and there is no probability of our knowing the name of the author.

10. THE BURHĀN-I-MA'ĀTHIR

The most valuable work among those which are available to us is that of 'Iṣāmī and the next in value is the Burhān-i-Ma'āthir by Sayyid 'Alī bin 'Azīzillāh Ṭabāṭabā'. The author of the Burhān came to the Deccan from al-'Irāq in the reign of Muḥammad Qulī Quṭb Shāh (1580-1612 A.D.). He was present in the camp of Muḥammad Qulī at the time of the siege of Naldurg. Thereafter, he sought service under the rulers of Aḥmadnagar and began writing the Burhān-i-Ma'āthir at the instance of Burhān Nizām Shāh II (1591-95 A.D.).

The author is a contemporary of Firishtah and could have even met him at Aḥmadnagar, but neither mentions the other. "We may presume that they both had access to the same works of reference in compiling the Bahmanī history; yet several remarkable discrepancies are observable, especially in the names and geneology of the kings. Wherever difference occurs, the Bahmani coins of the period, which are the most reliable evidence, corroborate the statement of our author and negative that of Firishtah. Further evidence against Firishtah is to be found in the Tazkarat-ul-Muluk from which I have given several extracts—and in extracts from Tarikh-i-Jahan Ara and Siraj-ul-Kulub, the latter written in A.H. 821."¹

As for the history of Bahman Shāh, Sayyid 'Alī has closely followed 'Iṣāmī's Futūḥu 's-Salāṭīn (without acknowledging

1. Major King in the Indian Antiquary, Vol. XXVIII, pages 119-20.

the source of his information) up to the year 751 A.H. Thereafter he had to depend on other sources. In the account given by the Burhān-i-Ma'āthir concerning the life and reign of Ḥasan, there is nothing superstitious or repugnant. Mistakes there are, but not of a very serious type. As a matter of fact, it was the study and translation of the Burhān by Major King which led him to doubt the correctness of Firishtah's version. The doubt raised by that learned scholar made others, especially Sir Wolseley Haig, investigate further and explode the myth circulated by Firishtah that Ḥasan was a humble servant of a Brahmin by name Gangū Bahman after whom he called himself Gangū Bahmanī,

II. THE TADHKIRATU 'L-MULŪK

Another important work for a study of Bahman Shāh is the Tadhkiratu 'l-Mulūk compiled by Mullā Rafī'u 'd-Dīn Ibrāhīm who was born in 1541 A.D. He migrated to India from Shīrāz and joined the service of the Sultān of Bijāpūr. He rose high enough in the service of the Bijāpūr State to be sent on an important diplomatic mission to Aḥmadnagar. He completed the Tadhkirah between 1017 and 1020 A.H. (1608-1611 A.D.) when Firishtah was still writing the Gulshan-i-Ibrāhīmī.

I found the work very useful. He gives certain details of Ḥasan's early days in the Deccan when he used to attend on Shaykh Muḥammad Sirāj Junaydī at Gangī in the neighbourhood of Miraj; sometimes in the company of his mother. Ḥasan's early life in the Deccan seems to have been intimately connected with the Miraj district. That Ḥasan came to the Deccan for the first time in the company of Qutluḡ Khān seems to be another myth circulated by Firishtah or some earlier writer, for 'Iṣāmī writes that he took part (on the loyalist side) in the battle against Bahā'u 'd-Dīn Gurshāsp much before Qutluḡ Khān was appointed Governor of the Deccan.

The printed matter of the Tadhkiratu 'l-Mulūk in the Ta'rīkh Vol. III, part IX, which I have utilized is full of

mistakes. Still one piece of evidence, the number of months (out of the total number of years, months and days) during which Bahman Shāh ruled, has enabled me to fix the exact date of Bahman's death and tally the conflicting data given by Firishtah as well as confirm the evidence furnished by Bahman's coin dated 760 A.H.

I have consulted the manuscript in the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal as well as the one in the National Library, Calcutta. They are full of clerical errors, particularly where proper names are concerned, and the Arabic passages have been badly copied.

12. THE ṬABAQĀT-I-AKṢARĪ

This book was written by Niẓāmu 'd-Dīn Aḥmad, son of Muqīm Khān. He was the Bakshī of Gujarāt under I'timād Khān and left a good name behind him. The work, which begins from the Ghaznawids gained recognition by the contemporaries of the author and is held in high esteem by European scholars. Badā'ūnī copied most parts of it and also Muḥammad Qāsim Firishtah. The author died in A.H. 1003 (1594-25 A.D.) Niẓāmu 'd-Dīn has given the correct name of Bahman Shāh.

13. THE HAFT IQLĪM

(D/347, Asiatic Society of Bengal and Ta'rikh 2341, Āṣifiyah Library, Hyderābād, Deccan)

The writer of the work, Amīn Aḥmad Rāzī, belonged to the family of I'timādu 'd-Dawlah, the father of Nūr Jahān. It is a topographical, historical and biographical encyclopaedia containing 1,560 biographies of poets, shaykhs and scholars arranged in geographical order. The author completed his work in 1002 A.H. (1593-94).

14. THE MUNTAKHABU 'T-TAWĀRIKH

It was compiled by Mullā 'Abdul Qādir Badā'ūnī "Qādirī" who was born at Badā'ūn about the year 948 A.H. (1541 A.D.). His father was known as Shaykh Malūk Shāh. On account

of his beautiful voice he was appointed court Imām for Wednesdays. Early in his life he was introduced to Akbar and he served the ruler for forty years. He died in the year 1024 A.H. (1615 A.D.). A good part of Badā'unī's work is copied from Nizāmu 'd-Dīn'a Ṭabāqāt-i-Akbarī. The history ends with 1004 A.H. (1595-96 A.D.). Badā'unī disliked most of the religious innovations of Akbar and considered Shaykh Mubārak and his two brilliant sons as heretics. His views represented those of the orthodox Muslims of his times.

The author has hopelessly confused Jalālu 'd-Dīn Aḥsan Shāh of Madura with Ḥasan, the founder of the Bahmanī kingdom.

15. GULSHAN-I-IBRĀHĪMĪ

Muḥammad Qāsim, surnamed Firishtah, son of Ghulām 'Alī Hindū Shāh, was born at Astrābād on the border of the Caspian Sea about 1570.¹ Ghulām 'Alī brought Firishtah to Aḥmadnagar when the child was twelve years old. Soon thereafter, his father having died, Firishtah entered the service of Nizām Shāh as a military officer. The young lad who was a Shī'ī could not acquire many friends at Aḥmadnagar, and hence he left for the Shī'ī court at Bijāpūr in the year 1519 where he was "kindly received". It was at Bijāpūr that Firishtah wrote the bulk of his famous history under the patronage of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II who "spared no expense to procure the most ample materials." But of the fifty-four source books mentioned by Firishtah only a few are now extant. The author appears to have worked at Bijāpūr and for sometime at Aḥmadnagar (during the reign of Murtaḍa Nizām Shāh Baharī who ruled from 1603-1630 A.D.)² After his return to Bijāpūr he was deputed on a mission to Jahāngīr whose court the author overtook near Lahore on its way to

1. History of the Rise of the Muḥammadan Power in India translated by John Briggs (Calcutta, 1908), Vol. I, p. XL.

2. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 281.

3. Dr. Maḥdī Husain, p. 256.

Kashmīr in the year 1606. Firishtah mentions the existence of Portuguese and English factories at Sūrat in the year 1611 A.D., "about which time his work was probably brought to a close, when he had attained his forty-first year."

Firishtah's book *Gulshan-i- Ibrāhīmī* is a useful work but the author has written it without proper assimilation of the data. He "gives neither accurate dates nor makes always very authentic statements."¹ He has grievously sinned against Bahman Shāh by concocting or giving currency to a baseless story. He was a young Shī'ī when he started writing and perhaps considered it meritorious to write something unpleasant about the early life of a famous Sunnī ruler. Moreover, the author was in the service of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II whose ancestor, Yūsuf 'Ādil Shāh, had revolted against the Bahmanī king and established a separate kingdom.

The historian knew that Ḥasan was reputed to have been descended from Bahman, son of Iṣfandiyyār, and he has himself quoted a genealogy to that effect. His story seems to be deliberate based on sectarian and political motives. As I have shown in greater detail in the body of this book, Firishtah is unfair to Ḥasan in making several other assertions also which betray a positively antagonistic bias against Bahman Shāh.

16. THE MUNTAKHABU 'L-LUBĀB

The author, Muḥammad Hāshim, also called Hāshim Alī Khān and better known by the designation Khāfī Khān, was the son of Khwājah Mīr, an officer under Murād Bakhsh and later under Awrangzīb. Khāfī Khān was employed by Awrangzīb in political and military situations.

His work is a complete history of the house of Tīmūr, and was brought out in the days of Muḥammad Shāh and named after him *Muntakhabu 'l-Lubāb-i-Muḥammad Shāhī*. He has devoted a substantial portion of his book to the history of the Deccan, but he himself admits¹ that as far as the history of the southern provinces is concerned, he has

mostly copied the work of Muḥammad Qāsim Firishtah. Hence some of the baseless stories reported by the last mentioned author have also been copied by the later writer.

17. THE TA'RĪKH-ISALĀTĪN-I-BAHMANĪYAH

Dr. Muhammad Ghawth Ṣāhib, the Librarian in charge of the manuscripts of the Osmania Library, showed me a Urdū manuscript (Acquisition Urdū Ms. No. 3). The author's name is not found in it. It is a booklet in Dakhnī verse. Folio No. 7(b) has the heading *Hasan Qānūngū-i-Bahmanī*, but in the body of the page the term is written as *Hasan Kānkū Bahmanī*.

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1. The Muntakhabu 'l-Lubāb, Vol. III, p. 2.

APPENDIX G WORKS CONSULTED

I. BOOKS

1. 'Abdul Jabbār (Mawlawī) : *Maḥbūbū 'l-Waṭan*, (Urdū) An Account of the Kings of Dakan, Part I, The Bahmanī Sultāns. The book is written in an unsystematic way and is stuffed with much irrelevant information and a good deal of surmises and conjectures. Regarding the life and reign of Bahman Shāh, the author has given some additional details basing them on books which he once possessed but subsequently lost in the floods of the Musi River in Ramaḍān, 1326 A.H. (1908 A.D.). I have utilized the data furnished by the Mawlawī Shāhib with some caution,

2. Ādharī (Isfarāyīnī) : *Dīwān*; D. No. 889, Government Oriental Manuscript Library, Madras. For more details see Appendix E.

3. 'Afīf (Shams-i-Sirāj) : *Ta'rīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī* edited by Mawlawī Wilāyat Husain, published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, 1890. For more details see Appendix E.

4. Amīr Khusraw : *Dewal Rānī Kiḍr Khān*, Aligarh, 1917.

5. Amīr Khusraw : *Khazā'inū 'l-Futūḥ*, published by the Sultānīyah Historical Society, Aligarh.

6. Do, translated into English by Prof. Muḥammad Ḥabīb, Madras, 1931.

7. Amīn Aḥmad Rāzī : *Haft Iqlīm*, Manuscript No. D.347, Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta. For more details see Appendix E.

8. Badā'ūnī ('Abul Qādir) : *Muntakhabū 'l-Tawārīkh*, edited by Mawlawī Aḥmad 'Alī, Calcutta, 1863, in 3 Volumes, For more details see Appendix E.

9. Bayḍāwī : *Anwārū 'l-Tanzīl*, Newal Kishore, Lucknow, 1282 A.H.

10. Baranī (Diyā'u 'd-Dīn) : *Ta'rīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī*, Bibliotheca Indica series, Calcutta, 1862. For more details see Appendix E

11. *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, edited by Sir Wolseley Haig, Cambridge University Press, 1921.

12. Dodwell, H. E. and Allen, J. : *Cambridge Shorter History of India*, Cambridge, 1934.

13. Elliot and Dowson : *History of India as told by its own Historians*, London, 1867-1877, in 8 Vols.

14. Firishtah (Muḥammad Qāsim) : *Gulshan-i-Ibrāhīmī*, Lucknow, 1323 A.H., in 2 Vols. For more details see Appendix E.

15. Do., English translation under the title "History of the Rise of Mahomedan Power in India till the year A.D. 1612" by Lt. Colonel John Briggs, Calcutta, 1908-1910, in 4 Vols.

16. Heras, J. (Rev. H.) : *Beginnings of Vijayanagara History*, Bombay, 1929.

17. Husainī (Sayyid 'Abdul Qādir) : *Arab Administration*, Madras, 1949.

Husainī (Sayyid 'Abdul Qādir) : *Administration under the Mughuls*, Dacca, 1952.

18. Ibn Baṭṭūṭah (Abū 'Abdillāh Muḥammad) : *Voyages D' Ibn Battutah*, edited by Defremery et le D' B. B. R. Sanguinetti, Paris, 1926 in 4 Volumes. For more details see Appendix E.

19. *Imperial Gazetteer of India (New Edition)*, Oxford, 1907-1909.

20. *Inscriptions of the Pudukottah State*, Pudukottah, 1339.

21. 'Iṣāmī : *Futūḥu 's-Salāṭīn*, edited by A. S. Ūsha, B.A., Madras University Publication, Madras, 1948. For more details see Appendix E.

22. Ishwari Prasad : *History of the Qarnāw Turks*, Allahābād, 1936.
23. Kanakasabai, V. : *The Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years Ago*, 1904.
24. Khāfī Khān (Muḥammad Hāshim) : *Muntakhab-i-Lubāb* edited by Sir Wolseley Haig and published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, 1865 in 3 Vols. For more details see Appendix E.
25. Krishnaswāmi Aiyangār : *South India and Her Muhammadan Invaders*, Oxford University Press, Madras, 1921.
26. Ludlow, *British India its Races and History*, 1959.
27. Mahdī Husain (Dr. Āghā) : *The Rise and Fall of Muḥammad bin Tughluq*, London, 1933.
28. Māwardī (al-) : *Al-Aḥkāmu 's-Sulṭāniyah*, Cairo.
29. Minhāju 'd-Dīn 'Uthmān ; *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, edited by Nassau Lees, Mawlawī Khādīm Husain and Mawlawī 'Abdu 'l-Hayy. *Bibliotheca Indica*, Calcutta, 1864.
30. do., Translated into English by H. G. Raverty. *Bib. Indica*, Calcutta, 1897.
31. Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Labbai : *Fayḍu 'l-Majīd fī Ibrāhīmī 'sh-Shahīd*, Madras, 1335, A.H.
32. Muḥammad Murtaḍa (Mawlawī) : *'Ahd-i-Salāf* (Urdū), Hyderābād.
33. Nasafī (al-) : *Madāriku 't-Tanzīl*, Egypt, 1306, A. H.
34. Nīlakantha Sāstrī : *The Pāndyan Kingdom from the earliest Times to the 16th century*, London and Madras, 1929-30.
35. Nizāmu 'd-Dīn Aḥmad : *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, edited by B. De, published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, 1926 in 3 Vol.

36. Nizāmu 'd-Dīn Aḥmad : *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, English translated by B. De, published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, 1925.

37. *Qur'ān* (The), Taj Company, Lahore.

38(a) *Qur'ān* (The), text with the translation by Dr. Yūsuf 'Alī, Lahore.

39. Qureshī : *The Administration of the Sultanate of Dehlī*, Lahore, 1942.

40. Raff'ū 'd-Dīn Ibrāhīm : *Tadhkiratu 'l-Mulūk*. A portion of the work including the history of Bahman Shāh has been published in the *Ta'rikh* (a journal published in Hyderābād, Deccan), Vol. III, Part IX, (January to March, 1931), Supplement. The portion relating to Bahman Shāh has been translated by Major King in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. 28 pp. 153-155.

41. Sa'dī (Musliḥu 'd-Dīn) : *Būstān*, edited by A Rodgers, London, 1891.

42. Saletor (Bhāskar Anand) : *Social and Political Life in the Vijayanagara Empire*, Poona, 1925.

43. Sattyanaṭha Aiyar : *History of the Nāyaks of Madura*.

44. Sayyid 'Alī bin 'Azīzillah Ṭabāṭabā : *Burhān-i-Ma'āthir*, Delhi, 1936.

45. Sewell (Robert) : *A Forgotten Empire (Vijayanagar)*, London. 1900.

46. Sewell (Robert) : *The Historical Inscriptions of South India*. (Collected till 1923), and *Outlines of Political History*, Madras, 1932.

47. Shērwanī (Hārūn Khān) : *The Bahmanīs of the Deccan*. Hyderabad, Deccan, 1953. It is a detailed history of the two centuries of Bahmanī rule, and some of its chapters are illuminating.

48. Şiddiqī ('Abdul Majīd) : *Ta'rikh-i-Dakan*. (Urdu) Medieval Period : *Bahmanī Salṭanat*. Hydārabād, Deccan, 1952. The book gives a neat and clear account of the history of the Bahmanis and is free from pedantic verbiage.

49. Somasūkhara Sarmā (M.) : *A Forgotten Chapter of Andhra History*, Madras, 1945.

50. Srīkantaya (S.) : *Founders of Vijayanagara*, Bangalore, 1933.

51. Sūriyanārāyana Row : *A History of Vijayanagar, the Never to be Forgotten Empire*, Madras, 1905.

52. Sykes (Sir Percy) : *History of Persia*, in 2 Vols. London, 1921.

53. *Ta'rikh-i-Salāṭīn-i-Bahmanīyah* : Acquisition urdu Manuscript No- 3, Osmania University Library, Hyderābād, Deccan.

54. Venkataramanayya (N.) : *Early Muslim Expansion in South India*, Madras, 1942.

55. Venkataramanayya (N.) : *Vijayanagara—Origin of the City and the Empire*, Madras, 1933.

56. Waṣṣāf (Sharfu 'd-Dīn 'Abdullāh Shīrāzī) : *Tazjīyatū 'l-Amṣārī wa Tajrīyatū 'l-A'ṣar*. I consulted the manuscript in the possession of Dr. M. Abdul Ḥuq Ṣahib of Madras. The book was printed in Bombay in 1845.

57. Yaḥya bin Aḥmad hin 'Abdillāh as-Sarhindī : *Ta'rikh-i-Mubārak Shāh*, edited by M. Hidūyat Ḥusain, Calcutta, 1931.

58. — do — Translated by K. K. Basu, G. O. S. LXIII, Baroda Oriental Institute, 1932.

II. JOURNALS

1. Annual Report of the Archaeological Department, Southern Circle, Madras, 1916 and 1919.

2. Dacca University Studies, Vol. I, No. II (April 1936) which contain an article by Dr. Qānūngo, "Origin of the Bahmani Sultans."

3. *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol. IX, edited by B. Lewis Rice, Bangalore, 1905.

4. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. III, edited by Hultzsch, 1894-95 and Vol. XXVI, 1941-42.

5. *Indian Antiquary*, published by the Bombay Education Society Press, Bombay, Vol. 10. Vol. 28 contains the translation of a portion of the *Burhān-i-Ma'āthir* by Major J. S. King. The portion of the *Tadhkiratu 'l-Mulūk* of Rafī'u 'd-Dīn Ibrāhīm which deals with Bahman Shāh has also been translated by the same author in this issue of the *Indian Antiquary*. Vol. 31 has an article, "Some unpublished Coins of Ma'bar" by T. Dēsikā Chārī and T. M. Rangā Chārī.

6. *Journal (Quarterly) of Andhra Historical Research Society*, Rajahmundry.

7. *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Calcutta, 1895: There is a very valuable article. "Coins of Musalman Kings of Ma'bar" by C. J. Rodgers with a very good reproduction of the Coins. 1904: Extra Number has the first scientific study of Bahman Shāh's name by Sir Wolseley Haig. 1909: (a) *Numismatic Supplement* No. XI has details about "Some Rare Silver and Copper Coins of the Bahmanī Kings of Gulbargah or Aḥsanābād" (pp. 309 seqq) with plates. (b) On Page 463 there is a note by Maulavī 'Abdul Walī on the *Haft Iqlīm* which has the term *Kakuyā*. 1918: There is a note on "The Reign of 'Alāu-d-Dīn Bahman Shāh" by Major H. M. Whittell with details about the ruler's coin dated 760 A.H. (pp. 475-76). 1923: The article in the *Numismatic Supplement* No. XXXVII beginning on page 22 N is a successful attempt by Major H. M. Whittell "to collect in one paper all available information regarding the known monetary issues of the Kings of Kulbarga".

8. Journal of Madras University (J. M. U.), Vol. XI, which contains a valuable article on the last days of the Saltanat of Madura.

9. Journal of Oriental Research (J.O.R.), published by the Kuppaswami Sastri, Research Institute, Mylapore, Madras.

10. Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland published at London, especially the issue of 1909, which contains an article on "Coinage of the Sultans of Madura" by Prof. E. Hultzsch.

11. Numismatic Chronicle and Journal of the Numismatic Society, London, 1881, 1885 and 1898 which contain details and reproduction of Ma'bar and Bahmanī Coins.

12. Proceedings of the Historical Congress, Allahabād Session, 1938.

INDEX

A

- 'Abbāsīd, 19, 91, 136, 145
- Ābdāra, 142.
- 'Abdul Jabbar (Maulavī), 25 to 27, 149.
- 'Abdullāh, 23, 35, 36.
- 'Abdullāh Muhammad bin 'Umar al-Makkī al-Āqīfī al-Uluḡkhānī, 46, 52.
- 'Abdus Salām (Maulavī), 48.
- 'Abdul Walī (Maulavī), 46, 55, 56, 57.
- Abū Bakr Jawar Banbal Khurram Muḡī (see Mubārak Khān.)
- Abu'l-Faṭḥ Ismā'īl Shāh, Plate 1.
- Abu'l-Muzaffar (Bahman Shāh), 19, 47, 49, 51, 53, etc.
- Ābu'l Muzaffar Muḡammad 'Alī'ud-dīn (Khajī), see 'Alī'ud-dīn.
- Abū Rajā, See Muḡīru 'd-Dīn.
- Abū Ṭālib (Sardawādar), 73, 143.
- Aḡdu'l-Mulk, 73, 81, 140.
- Ādharī, See Shaykh.
- 'Adil Shāh, 43.
- 'Adil Shāhī, 43.
- Adonī, 113, 116
- Afḡhānistān, 58.
- Afḡhāns, 9, 25.
- Aḡmad Ayāz (Khawājah Jahān), 12.
- Aḡmad bin Aḡmad Shāh bin Bahman Shāh, 47.
- Aḡmad bin Bahman Shāh, 120, 125.
- Aḡmad bin Harb, 73, 84, 140.
- Aḡmad bin Lāchīn, see under Malik.
- Aḡmad Shāh, brother of 'Alī Shāh, 23, 24, 35.
- Aḡmad Walī, Bahmanī, 53.
- Aḡmadnagar, 40, 41.
- Aḡsan Shāh, See Jalālu'd-Dīn.
- Aḡsanābād, 50, 51, 91, 107, 114, 115, 119.
- Akād, 74, 77, 149.
- Akbar the Great, 132.
- Akhūr Bak (Right), 74, 138, 142.
- Akhūr Bak (Left), 74, 138.
- Akkalkot, 70, 75, 149.
- Akrāj, 75.
- 'Alam Bak Natthū, 79, 80.
- 'Alā'u'd-Dīn Bahman Shāh 19, 21, 40 to 42, 47 to 56, 110, 111, 112.
- 'Alā'u'd-Dīn Khajī, 22, 24, 59, 60, 92, 97, 113, 114.
- 'Alā'u'd-Dīn Mīr (Sayyid) Jaunpūrī, see Mīr,
- 'Alā'u'd-Dīn Udawjī Shāh (Udayjī), 98, 99, 100.
- 'Alā'u'd-Dīn Nā'ib Qira Bak (left), 73, 141.
- 'Alā'u'd-Dunyā, 48, 49.
- Āler R., 117.
- Alexander the Second, 49, 113.
- 'Alī bin 'Azīzillāh Ṭabaṭabā' (Sayyid), 21, 31, 33, 45, 47, 52, 64, 65, 66, 109, 111, 121, 127, 124.
- 'Alī bin Hasan, 21.
- 'Alī Charghadī, 17.
- 'Alī Lāchī, 17, 80.
- 'Alī Shāh Natthu, 4, 22 to 27, 34, 35, 36, 57, 60, 140.
- 'Alī Shāh (Sarpadahdār) 74, 141.
- 'Ālimu'l-Mulk, see Nizāmu'd-Dīn.
- Alrāj, 75.
- Amarāvati, 110, 111.
- Amsreswara, 111.
- Amaraswara Deva, 110.
- Amīn Aḡmad Rūzī, 47, 52.
- 'Āmīr, 21.
- 'Amīr Farghān, 89.

- Amīr Hajīb, 139.
 Amīr Nawrūz Gurgīn, see Nawrūz.
 Amīr Rafī'ah, 89.
 Amīr Šadah, 5, 30, 32, 33.
 Amīrū'l-Umara', 71, 77, 143, 145, 146.
 Amroha, 5.
 Anavota, 109.
 'Anumakonda Mācaya Nāyaka, 109.
 Andhra, 96, 112.
 Arabian Sea 104, 148.
 Arabs, 97.
 Ārām Shāh, 72.
 Ardashīr Darāzdest, 21.
 Arain (tribe) 55, 59.
 Arcor, 101.
 'Ārid-i-Jaysh, 72, 73, 145, 146.
 Arka, 149.
 'Arrādah, 37, 77, 85, 88.
 Artaxerxes Longimanus, 21.
 Āsāwal (Aḥmadāhād), 88.
 Ashrafis, 30, 114.
 Asiatic Society of Bengal (Journal of the), see foot-notes.
 Assaye, 107.
 Awrah, 73.
 'Aynu'd-Dīn Bijāpūrī (Shaykh), 26, 82, 129, 137.
 A'zam-i-Humāyūn (Khawājah Jahān) 77, 147.
 Azhdar-i-Mulk, 73, 81.
 'Azīz Khammār, 5, 6, 7.
- B**
- Badagara, 100.
 Badarkot, 3.
 Badā'ūnī, 47, 52.
 Badayūnī (see Badā'ūnī).
 Badr-i-Chāch, 5.
 Baghdād, 136.
 Bagalkot (Bagarkot), 84, 149.
 Baglān, 95.
 Baglāna, 7, 71, 89, 95, 114, 148.
 Bahādur Khān, 78, 145.
 Bahāu'd-Dīn, 10, 11.
 Bahā'u'd-Dīn (Gurshāsp), 1, 34, 126, 135.
 Bahā'u'd-Dīn (Hājīh Khāṣṣ), 84.
 Bahman bin Isfandiyār, 40 to 47, 50, 51, 54, 61, 71, 126, 137.
 Bahaman bin Kaikāūs 42, 44.
 Bahmanī, 39 to 54.
 Bahmanīyah, 46.
 Bahman Namah-i-Daknī, 41, 47, 53.
 Bahrām Afghān, 47.
 Bahrām bin Shahrīyār, 21.
 Bahrām Gūr, 21, 22, 40, 61.
 Bahrām Khān Māzandarānī, 61, 73, 81, 84, 139, 147, 149.
 Bahrām (Wakīl-i-Dar), 145.
 Bahrām, (Nā'ib 'Ārid-i-Jaysh)
 Baharjī, 95.
 Bakrī, 114.
 Bakhahi-i-Fawj (Sahmu'l-Hasham), 74, 145.
 Balāon, 33, 36, 65, 149.
 Ballāla III, see Vīra Ballāla.
 Ballāla (Vīra) IV, 85, 103, 104.
 Bellālarāya, 103.
 Bāman, 44.
 Banathora R., 148.
 Baranī, 24, 27 etc. and foot-notes.
 Bārbak, 71, 138, 139.
 Baroda, 36.
 Basātīn-i-Salātīn, 56.
 Basīm, 116.
 Bay of Bengal, 2, 97.
 Bayt-i-Ma'mūr, 48.
 Behnām, 21.
 Berār, 8, 13, 107, 114, 147, 148.
 Bhadrāchalam, 111, 112.
 Bhakti Rājā, 111, 112.
 Bhalkī, 70.
 Bhīma R. 81, 148.
 Bhīran (Bhīran), 4, 35.
 Bhokardan, 105, 107.

Bhonglī, 106, 108, 111, 112, 116,
117, 148.
Bhusāwal, 105.
Bīdar, 3, 4, 17, 34, 51, 69, 74, 76, 86,
147, 148, 149.
Bijāpūr 8, 51, 63, 104.
Bijāpūrī, see 'Aynu'd-Dīn.
Bīr (Bhīr) 15, 152.
Boja (Pocha) Reṣī (Reddī), 70, 79.
Bomboy, 105, 117.
Brahman, 29, 29, 44, 52, 53, 62, 63.
Brahman, see Chandarbān.
Burhān-i-Ma'āthir, 13, 19, 21, 30, 31.
etc. and foot-notes.
Burhānpūr, 106, 148.
Burhānu'd-Dīn, see Shaykh.
Būstān, 120.

C

Calro, 136.
Calliph, 136.
Cambay, 12, 88.
Cambridge History of India, see
foot-notes.
Cape Comorin, 2, 97, 102.
Carnatic, 107, 109, 113, 137.
Central Asia, 58, 59, 61.
Chahār Chaman, 44.
Chanchwāl, 75.
Chandarbān Brāhman, 44.
Chandragiri River, 97.
Cheul, 106, 116.
Chhanoūrī R. 81
Chinna Mūsī, R., 117.
Chola, 97, 101.
Coin of Ismā'il Mukh, see Plate I.
Coins of Bshman Shāh, 49, 50 and
Plate III.
Coins of Muḥammad Shāh, 50, 51
and Plate IV.
Commander of the Faithful, 49.
Cutch, 2.

D

Dabhoī, 107, 116.
Dabru, 111.
Dābir, 4, 35,
Dabīr, 72, 144, 145.
Dacca University Studies, 5† and
foot-notes.
Dallamaito, 58.
Dakan, 46
Darāzdest (see Ardashīr).
Darbar, 77, 130, 137.
Dastūr, 80.
Da'ūd (Malik), son of Bahman Shāh,
120, 125.
Davād, 22.
Dawlat Shāh, 141, 142.
Defremery, 101.
Deogit, 3.
Devagiri, 1, 2, 5, 33, 92, 95, 98.
Devaya Nāyaka, 96.
Devī, 7.
Dhalmahla, 75.
Dhanyokatska, 110.
Dhanyavati, 110.
Dhūr, 18, 73, 89.
Dhārāgarb, 11.
Dharūr, 23, 70.
Dilip Singh, 84.
Dīnār, 98.
Director of Hyderabad Archaeology.
Diwān-i-Inshā', 144.
Diwān Khūnah, 77.
Diyā (Diyā'u'd-Dīn), see Baranī.
Dushmanzūr Rustam, 58.
Dvarasamudra, 1, 101, 102.

E

Eastern Telingāna, 95-
East Godāvari, 111.
Ellichpūr, 13.
Encyclopaedia of Islam.
Epigraphia Carnatica, see foot-notes.
Erakesvara Deva, 109.

Erapotu, 109.

Erode, 102.

F.

Faghfūr, 21.

Fakhru'd-Dīn Muḥrār, 80.

Fakhru'd-Dīn Sha'bār, 87.

Farāmīn, 39.

Farmān, 6.

Farīdūn, 47.

Farrukh, 21.

Fathābād, 76.

Fatḥn'l-Mulk, 72, 149

Fattan, 101.

Fatwa, 131.

Fawjdār, 15.

Frishtah, 3, 4, 7, 10, 19, 21 etc and
foot-notes.

Firūz Bakht, 21.

Firūz (Malik) see under Malik.

Firūz Shāh Tughluq, 66, 91, 111,
136.

Futūḥu's-salāṭīn, 36, 54, 56, 57, 93,
140.

G

Gandhra, 17, 38.

Gangha, 59.

Gangī 13, 28, 55, 64 to 67.

Ganco, 55, 59, 60, 61.

Gangu, 31, 55, 57, 58, 61.

Gangūī, 39, 55, 65, 67.

Gangū Pandit, 26, 55.

Ganjūtī, 8.

Gawilgarh Hills, 107.

Ghatprabha, 70, 105.

Ghatti of 8īr, 18.

Ghatti of Mahwab, 15.

Ghawth (Dr. Muḥammad), 48.

Gbazl Malik, 23.

Gbaznah 4, 27, 35, 36.

Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn Dāmghān Shāh, 99,
101, 102.

Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn Tughluq, 32, 33, 34,
62, 97.

Guard of the Throne, 73, 138, 140.

Ghūr, 26, 27, 28.

Goa, 106, 107, 116, 117.

Godāvari R., 15, 70, 96, 105, 106,
117, 148.

Golconda, 70.

Gopāl, 84.

Gudalūr, 102.

Gujarāt, 3, 5, 6, 7, 10, 12, 13, 89, 95,
96, 105, 107, 113 to 116, 119, 131,
138.

Gul (Yal, Mall) Afghān see under
Malik.

Gulbargah, f. 13, 15, 35, 37, 38, 46,
47, 48, 70, 74, 79, 81, 82, 85, 88,
91, 92, 106, 107, 113, 114, 125 to
129, 142, 148 to 150.

Gungu, 57.

Guntūr, 111.

Gurshāp (see Bahā'u'd-Dīn)

Gurshāp (Husayn Hatīyah) 72, 75,
81, 141.

Gwalior, 113, 114.

H

Haft Iqlīm, 46, 7.

Haig, see Wolseley.

Hajib, 73, 74, 131.

Hajib-I-Khaṣṣ, 11, 72, 138, 140

Hajib-I-Qiṣṣah, 73, 140.

Hajib-I-Qaḍīyah, 140.

Hakim bi Amrillāb, 136.

Hakīm 'Alīmū'd-Dīn Ṭabrīzī, 119.

Hakīm Naṣīru'd-Dīn Shīrāzī, 119.

Halakbal, 13.

Hanafī, 120.

Haran (Rājā), 114.

Hariap (Hariappa, Haribara I), 82.

Harihara I, 95, 103, 104.

Harkātū, 101.

Hatihara I, see Hariap.

Haybatzan Khān, 81.
 Himūhiyus, 2.
 Hinnawar, 104.
 Hilsbaru'd-Dīn, see Malik.
 Honnawara, 104.
 Hoyala, 99, 101, 102, 104.
 Ilukayri, 8, 33, 36, 65, 105, 149.
 Hulūgū Khān, 136.
 Husāmu'd-Dīn, 8, 149.
 Husāmu'd-Dīn Aqchī, son of Arām
 Shāh (Na'h Wakīl-i-Dar), 72, 144.
 Husayn Hathiyyah (Gurshāsp), 13, 15,
 17, 69, 72, 75, 149.
 Husayn (Haman), son of Turān, the
 Treasurer, 73, 144.
 Hūshang, 21.
 Hyderābād, 48, 117.

I

Ibn Baṭṭūṭah, 3, 9, 27.
 Ibrāhīm (Hassan's ancestor), 21.
 Ibrāhīm 'Adīl Shāh II, 43, 51, 63.
 Ibrāhīm Kharitahdār, 143.
 Ibrāhīm Rafī'u'd-Dīn, see Rafī'u'd-
 Dīn.
 Ikhtiyaru'd-Dīn, see Malik.
 Illyās (Zahīru'l-Juyūsh), 72, 145.
 'Imādu'l-Mulk Sartīz Sulṭānī, see
 Sartīz.
 Imādu'l-Mulk (Hindu), 72, 73, 81,
 145, 146.
 Imādu'l-Mulk Tashkandī, 114.
 Imām, 136.
 India, 117, 136.
 Indian Antiquary, foot-notes.
 Indian History (Journal of), foot-
 notes.
 Indūr, 116, 148.
 Iqtas, 148, 149.
 Irānī, 52, 57.
 Irānlan, 25, 52.
 'Iraqī, 93.

Irgah, 14, 130, 149.
 'Iṣmī, 10, 11, 14, 15, 19 etc. and
 foot-notes.
 Isfandiyār, 18, 21, 24, 40, 41, 43, 45,
 46, 50, 51 to 53, 54, 58, 61.
 Iskandar Khān (Bārbak), 10, 17, 71.
 Islām, 43, 59, 60, 97.
 Ismā'il Mukh (Abu'l-Faḥ), 8, 9, 11,
 14, 36, 37, 38, 40, 63, 65, 74, 77,
 78, 126 to 130, 137, 138, 145,
 149.

J

Jānagar, 111, 112.
 Jākmandī (Jāmkhandī), 77.
 Jalāl Duhanī, 37.
 Jalālu'd-Dīn Aḥsan Shāh, 2, 97 to
 100, 104, 135.
 Jālwar, 74.
 Jāmi' Masjid, 91, 150.
 Jām (the) 90.
 Jāmkhandī (Jākmendī), 70, 71, 77,
 84, 85, 152.
 Jamna, 26.
 Jamshīd, 120.
 Jāndār-i-Khāṣṣ (Right) 73, 138.
 Jāndār-i-Khāṣṣ (Left), 73, 138.
 Jangson, 117.
 Jawar Banbal Khutram Muftī, see
 Mubārak Khān.
 Jawhar, see Malik.
 Jhanūrī R. 81.
 Jizyah, 132, 150.

K

Ka'bah, 48.
 Kabir, see Malik.
 Kadam R., 117.
 Kabālī Pattan (Pattan), 85, 103, 104,
 127.
 Kalkāūs, 55, 56, 58.
 Kaikāūs Muḥammad, 21.
 Kaiyūmarth, 21, 33.

- Kajak, 11, 81.
 Kajo Khatrl, 59.
 Kākūtiya, 95, 135.
 Kākūyah, 55 to 59.
 Kalhār (Karād, Karhād), 107.
 Kālay Muḥammad, 86, 87, 90.
 Kalyan, 95.
 Kallyānī (Kalyān), 70, 76, 86, 90, 91, 93, 149.
 Kambala, 3.
 Kambayat (Cambay), 12, 83.
 Kampama, 104.
 Kampili, 1, 135.
 Kandhār (Khandhra), 69, 75, 106, 148, 149.
 Kandhavāna, 1, 2.
 Kangū, 55, 59.
 Kāngū, 55, 61.
 Kānkū Bahman, 29, 30, 39, 40, 42, 55, 58, 62 to 64.
 Kāpā Nāldū (same as Kāpaya Nāyaka).
 Kāpaya Nāyaka, 3, 69, 76, 95, 96, 107 to 109, 112, 129, 135.
 Karhād, see Kalhār.
 Karan (Rājā), 114.
 Karanja River, 70.
 Karhād (see Kalhār).
 Karrichūr, 82, see Rāshūr.
 Kuahār, 132.
 Katghar, 34.
 Kathlawār, 88, 89.
 Kawlās, 69, 76, 108, 148.
 Kāyalpattinam, 99, 101, 103.
 Kerala, 97.
 Ketaya Vema, 110, 111.
 Khāfī Khān, 30, 39, 62, 64, 66.
 Khalīfah, 91, 136.
 Khaljis, 25, 26.
 Khalji (tribe), 24.
 Khambāsiyah, 88.
 Khāndesh, 69, 95, 96.
 Khān Jahān, 6, 74.
 Khārāj, 132.
 Khare, 58.
 Khārīshdār, 143.
 Khārīsh Kash (Mullik Shāh), 114, 143.
 Khayy Halīb, 140.
 Khutun Khān, 10.
 Khāzin, 144, 145.
 Khembavī, 79, 82, 149.
 Khēpnas, 79, 82, 132, 144, 150, 152.
 Khidj (Nā'ib Shuhrah-i Bāghah), 74, 141.
 Khidj Khān, 10, 11.
 Khil'at, 6, 9.
 Khūdawandādah Qiwāmūd-Dīn, 12, 18, 89.
 Khulāṣah, 74, 142.
 Khurāsān, 23.
 Khurshīd, 21.
 Khusrāw Parwīz (Shahnah-i-Pīl, son of Mubārak Khān), 73, 142.
 Khutbah, 113.
 Khwājah Jahān, 1, 37, 71, 72, 80, 82, 144.
 Kinba, 79, 82.
 King (Major), 49.
 Kinba, see Krishna, K.
 Kishīū Khān, 2, 3.
 Kiyānī, 21, 37, 41, 59.
 Kolna River, 105.
 Koir (Kohir), 34, 35, 74, 86 to 87, 90, 91, 93, 105, 106, 112, 149, 152.
 Kolhāpūr, 107.
 Kormul Reddi, 110.
 Kondavīdu, 110.
 Konkan, 85, 104, 106, 107, 127.
 Koratla, 117.
 Kotgīr, 75, 148.
 Kotwāl, 38, 97.
 Krishna R. (Kinba), 70, 71, 96, 97, 105, 106, 117, 149.
 Krishnaswāmy Aiyangār, 103.

Kubbān (Kuppan).

Kudalīr R., 117.

Kulhār, 8.

Kullān, 100.

Kunwarpāl, 74.

Kuppan, 99, 101.

Kushragā, 117.

L

Lāchī. *see* Ahmaq.

Lakhnūth, 111.

Loṅg'manus (*see* Ardashīr
Durāzdašt).

Ludlow, 151.

M

Ma'har, 1, 2, 3, 95, 97, 98, 100 to
102, 104, 113.

Māca Reddī, 110.

Mācayn Nāyaku, 109.

Madras, 100.

Madras University.

Madrasāhs, 108.

Madura, 1, 2, 97-99, 101 to 103,
115.

Maghribī, 76.

Māhārāshtra, 1, 150.

Mahbūb Gulshan, 48.

Māhe, 100.

Mahendri (Mundargī), 70, 74, 75,
149.

Maḥmūd (Ghāzi Dāmghān)

Maḥmūd (Shahnah-i-Khwān), 17, 73,
142.

Maḥmūd, son of Bahman Shāh, 119,
125.

Maḥmūd (Sultan of Ghaznah) 68,
59.

Māhūr, 106, 107, 116, 117.

Majdu'd-Dawlah Buyid, 58.

Major King, 140.

Major Raverty *see* Raverty.

Makhtal, 105.

Malabar, 135.

Malik Ahmad (son of Lāchīn), 7,
8, 13.

Malik 'Alī Sarjāmadār, 7, 8.

Malik Bayrām (Naib Qitra Bak,
right), 73, 141.

Malik Chhālṣū (Sayyidu'l-Hujjāb),
73, 140.

Malik Dā'ūd 21.

Malik Fīrūz (Khān Jahān), 6, 89.

Malik Ghaznīn, 83.

Malik Hīnōū, the Turkoman
(Imādu'l-Mulk), 72, 75, 145, 146.

Malik Hizbatu'd-Dīn (Zafar Khān
'Alā'), 22, 24, 26.

Malik Ikhtiyāru'd-Dīn, 23, 35.

Malik Jawhar, 13, 18, 89.

Malik Kabīr, 6.

Malik Mall (Gul, Yal, 9.

Malik Maqbūl, 3, 6, 10, 98.

Malik Muzaffar, 12.

Malik Nawrūz Gurgīn, 10, 12.

Malik Shādī (Nā'ib Bārbak), 73,
143.

Malik Shādī, son of Qaysar 'Aṣā'
(Kharīyah Kash), 72, 73.

Malik Shāh, 23.

Malik Taghī, 12, 88 to 90, 96.

Malik Tācār, 10.

Malik Yūsuf Bughrā, 88.

Malkhed, 76, 85.

Mall, *see* Malik.

Malla Reddī, 110, 111.

Mālwah, 5, 70, 109, 111, 113 to 115,
137.

Mānsingh Baharjī (Māndev), 95.

Māndev, 7.

Mandū, 17.

Mandvā, 106, 109, 116.

Mangalore, 100.

Mānikdūn, 8.

Manjānīq, 12, 37, 85, 88, 93.
Mānjira R., 68, 70, 105.
Manjūr, 21.
Maqbūl, see *Malik*.
Marām, 75, 149.
Māchanam, 102.
Marzbān, 75.
Maskī Nālā, 117.
Medak, 148.
Mewar, 84.
Mīnūchīhr, 21.
Mīr Muḥammad Munajjim
Badakhshī, 42, 74, 132, 150.
Mīr (Sayyid) 'Alā'u'd-Dīn Jaunpūrī,
 82, 137.
Miraj, 13, 14, 30, 33, 34, 36, 38, 55,
 60, 65, 70, 71, 74, 79, 85, 105,
 127, 130, 151.
Montgomery, 59.
Mubārakābād, 79.
Mubārak Khan (Abu Bakr Jawar
Banbal Kburram Muftī), 10, 11,
 14, 75, 82, 84, 87, 131, 142,
 149.
Mubārak Khān Lodhlī, 114.
Mudgal, 8, 116, 117.
Mudhol, 81, 82, 84, 85, 149.
Muftī, 131, 143.
Muḥammad Ghawth (Dr.), 48.
Muḥammad I (Bahmanī), 50, 51, 56,
 65, 71, 77, 92, 115, 119 to 123,
 125, 126, 131, 133, 149.
Muḥammad II (Bahmanī), 125.
Muḥammad Shāb (brother of 'Alī
 Shāb), 23, 35, 36.
Muḥammad bin 'Aynu'd-Dīn
(Khawājah Jahān), 71, 144, 149.
Muḥammad bin 'Alīm, 79, 80, 81,
 82, 106, 144, 152.
Muḥammad bin Qadr Khān
(Azhdar-i-Mūlk), 73.
Muḥammad bin Qāsim, 132.

Muḥammad bin Tughluq, 1 to 4, 9
 to 11, 23, 29, 31 to 34, 39, 42, 62,
 65, 70, 71, 73, 74, 79 to 83, 88 to
 100, 105, 109, 113, 126 to 131,
 136, 141, 144, 151.
Muhulār, 11.
Mu'īnu'd-Dīn (of Talikota), 12, 13,
 83, 159.
Mu'īnu'd-Dīn (Mawlānā) Ilirawī,
 (on page 82 read as teacher of
 Prince Muḥammad Shāh, son of
 Bahman Shāh), 82, 137.
Mu'izzu'd-Dīn, see *Shaykh*.
Muḥsinu'd-Dīn Abu Rajā', 1.
Mulhaqqat-i-Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī, 26, 129.
Multār, 3, 22, 26, 28, 59, 89, 92,
 131.
Mūn R., 116.
Mundārgī, see *Mahendri*.
Muqbil, see *Malik*.
Murtazābād, 28, 64.
Murtazā Nizām Shāh Bahrlī, 41.
Mūsī R., 7, 105, 117.
Mussalman, 110.
Musunuri, 96.
Muzaffar, see *Malik*.

N

Nadriyar, (Nandura), 114.
Nahazwālah, 6, 12.
Nā'ib 'Arīq-i-Jaysh, 145, 146.
Nā'ib Bārbak (Malik Shādī), 72.
Nā'ib Hajib Khagṣ, 140.
Nā'ib Qirabak, right (Malik
Bayrām), 73.
Nā'ib Qirabak, left, see 'Alā'u'd-Dīn.
Nā'ib Wakīl-i-Dar (Umar), 84, 138,
 139.
Nā'ib Wazīr, 3, 72, 81, 144.
Nāmdār, 21.
Nānder, 69, 105, 116.

Nāndura, 114 foot-note.
 Nārāyan, 13, 70, 77, 81, 83, 85, 89,
 100, 132, 149, 150, 152,
 Nārāda, 7, 88, 89.
 Nāsik, 13, 88, 95.
 Naṣir, son of Maṇṣūr, 21.
 Nāṣiru Amīrī'l-Mu'minīn, 24.
 Nāṣiru'd-Dīn (Ismā'īlī Mukh), 9, 10,
 14, 18, 40, 51, 69, 88, 92, 128,
 149.
 Nāṣiru'd-Dīn (Mahmūd Ghāzi-i-
 Dāmghān), 99, 101, 102.
 Nāṣiru'd-Dīn Taghānchī ('Addul-
 Mulk) Guard of the Throne, 8,
 10, 73, 140, 149.
 Nāṣiru'l-Mulk (Najmu'd-Dīn), 73.
 Natthu Sher Khān (Sayr Khān), 71.
 Nāvārl, 107, 115, 127.
 Nawrūz, 77.
 Nellure, 97, 100, 104.
 Nīk Kardār, 21.
 Nizāmpūr, 18.
 Nizāmu'd-Dīn Awliyā' (Shaykh), 31,
 32 to 34, 126, 132, 133, 137.
 Nizāmu'd-Dīn Bakhshī, 7, 45, 52.
 Nizāmu'd-Dīn (Moulana, 'Alīmu'l-
 Mulk), 5, 7 to 9.
 North Pennar R., 100, 106, 148.
 North Purna R., 107, 116, 117.
 Nūh, 21.
 Nūru'd-Dīn, 8, 10, 13, 14, 36, 38,
 130.
 Nūshīn, 22.
 Nuṣrat Khān, 3, 34,

O

Onore, 104.
 Oturkar, 58.

P

Pādshāh Quṭbu'd-Dīn, 19.
 Pāndya, 97, 101.
 Parākroma Pāndya, 97.

Pannagiri, 117.
 Parganah, 149.
 Pathura, 17.
 Pāran (Naharwāṇṇ), 88.
 Pattan (Kahāri Pattan), 85, 103, 127.
 Patūdah, 88.
 Pedakonda, 111.
 Pedapudi, 110.
 Pedda Vagu R., 117.
 Penganga R., 106, 117.
 Persia, 21, 40, 43, 511.
 Persian, 126.
 Pīlīlāmāṣṣī, 109, 110.
 Pocaya Nāyaka, 96.
 Pocha (Boja) Rezi (Reddi), 79.
 Polavaram, 95.
 Polaya Vema, 110.
 Prolaya Nāyaka, 96.
 Pulicat, 100.
 Punjab, 23, 26, 55, 59, 61.
 Pūr-i-Zayd (Quṭbu'l-Mulk), 72, 75.
 Pus R., 106, 117, 148.

Q

Qabūla, 17.
 Qaḍī Bahā'u'd-Dīn, 73, 140, 151.
 Qaḍī Jalāl'u'd-Dīn (Qadr Khān), 72,
 131.
 Qaḍī'u'l-'Askar, 74, 147, 151.
 Qaḍī'u'l-Qudāt, 147.
 Qadr Khān, 10, 11, 73, 81, 149.
 Qāmar, 17.
 Qandhūr (see Kandhūr)
 Qanūngo, 52, 54, 55, 56, 60, 61, 72.
 Qīmāz, 74, 142.
 Qura Bak, right (Shamsu'd-Dīn son
 of Pīghū), 138, 141.
 Qura Bak, left (Husayn Hathiyah),
 72, 138.
 Qūrbak', 141.
 Qīr Khān, 15, 74, 76, 82, 141, 85
 to 87, 89, 93, 149, 152.
 Qiwāmu'l-Mulk (Nā'ib Wazīr), 81.

Qizilbāsh Hajili, 8.

Quṭbu'd-Dīn (Pādshah), 19.

Quṭbu'd-Dīn Firūz Shāh (of
Madura), 98, 99.⁴

Quṭbu'd-Dīn Mubārak (Khālji), 92,
97.

Quṭbu'l-Mulk (Pūr i-Zayd), 72, 74,
75, 82, 149.

Qutluḡ Khān, 3, 4, 5, 7, 23, 33 to
35.

R

Raḡḡu'd-Dīn Ibrāhīm, 28, 29, 31,
46, 47, 52, 65, 66, 120 to 123.

Rāṭchūr (Karrichūr), 8, 82, 105, 116.

Rāḡgiri, 8.

Rāmnaḡ, 101.

Rājab (Shahnash-i-Bāḡār), 73, 74,
141.

Rāja Haran, 114.

Rāja Karan, 114.

Rain Tribe, 55, 60.

Rājput, 95.

Rameswaram, 113.

Rāmnaṡh, 75.

Rashīqī, 72.

Rathor, 95, 114.

Raverty (Major), 25.

Reddis, 96, 97, 104, 110, 111.

Rudrasāni, 109.

S

Sabāṡ, 17, 88.

Sadhāran Kangu, 59.

Sadi, 148, 149.

Sa'di, 120.

Ṣadr, 74, 147.

Ṣadr Jahān, 89.

Ṣadru's-Ṣud'ūr, 143.

Ṣadru'sh-Sharīf Samargandī, 42, 74,
77, 119, 132, 147, 149.

Ṣafdar Khān, 11, 74, 79, 80, 149.

Ṣafdar Khān, Sīstānī, 147.

Ṣafdaru'l-Mulk, 12.

Sagar, 1, 14, 17, 34, 37, 79, 80-82-
85, 92, 152.

Sāḡūn, 75.

Sahām, 21.

Sahanu'l-Illashām. (Bokshi-i-Fawj),
74, 145, 146.

Ṣāḡib-i-'Arīḡ ('Āriḡ-i-Jaysh), 145,
146.

—Malik Hindu, 72.

Sāḡū Afghān, 3.

Sālār-i-'Khwan, 142.

Salher, 95.

Sallām, 21.

Samāna, 22.

Sambuvarāya, 97.

Sangama, 102.

Sanguinetti, 101.

Ṣāni', 21.

Sanola, 116.

Sar Ābdār, 74.

Sardār-i-Khāsa Khel, 85.

Sarābdār, 138, 142.

Sārdawārdār (Abū Ṭalīb), 73, 138,
143.

Sarperdahdār, 74, 138, 141.

Sartīz, 13, 14, 15, 17, 18, 38, 69, 70,
76, 89, 96, 108, 127, 152.

Sa'sānī, 21.

Shān, 21.

Shānīd, 44.

Satūra, 105, 149.

Satmala Hills, 95, range, 106, 117,
148.

Satpura Range, 107.

Satyanārāyaṡa, 103.

Sayfu'd-Dīn, 'Arab, 17.

Sayfu'd-Dīn Ghūrī, 28, 60, 77, 78,
83, 84, 92, 113, 114, 129, 130,
138, 144, 145, 147, 149, 150, 152.

Sayyidābād, 75.

Sayyid Aḡmad Ghaznawī (Mufti),
77.

- Sayyid 'Alī bin 'Azizillah. See 'Alī.
 Sayyid Mubārak Shāh, 59.
 Sayyid Raḡū'd-Dīn (Fatḡu'l-Mulk), 72.
 Sayyidu'l-Hujjab, 138, 140.
 Schwān, 89.
 Seram, 85.
 Sha'han, see Fakhrū'd-Dīn
 Shād, 22.
 Shāh Begam, 92.
 Shahnah-i-Bārgāh (Dawlat Shāh), 138.
 Shahnah-i-Bārgāh (Rajab), 73, 138, 141, 142.
 Shahnah-i-Khwān, 74, 138, 142.
 Shahnah-i-Pīl (Khusraw Parwīz), 73, 138, 142.
 Shahrīār, 21.
 Shamsu'd-Dīn (bin Pīghū) Qīra Bak, Right, 10, 72, 81, 141.
 Shamsu'd-Dīn bin Rushīqī (Hājīh Khāḡḡ), 72, 140.
 Sharfu'd-Dīn Pārāī ('Umdatul-Mulk) Dabīr, 72, 145.
 Sharīf Jalālu'd-Dīn, see Jalālu'd-Dīn.
 Sharī'at, 148.
 Shaykh 'Adharī Isfarāyīnī, 41.
 Shaykh Burhānu'd-Dīn (Gharīb), 13, 133, 137.
 Shaykh Muḡammad Sirāj Junaydī, 28, 31, 60, 64, 131, 132, 133.
 Shaykh Mu'izzu'd-Dīn, 12.
 Shaykh Sa'dī, 120.
 Shencottah, 102.
 Sher Khān (Sayr Khān) Natthu, 72, 141.
 Sher Khān of Jālwar, 145.
 Sherwānī (Prof. H. K.), 23, 55, 57, 150.
 Shī'ah, 43, 51, 63.
 Shībābu'd-Dīn bin Kunwarpāl, 74, 143.
 Shorāpūr, 1.
 Sikandar Khān, 15, 74, 76, 86, 87, 108, 149.
 Siddīqī (A. M.), 150.
 Sind, 27, 36, 95.
 Sīpāh Sālār, 77.
 Sirāj, see Shaykh Muḡammad.
 Siraju't-Tawrāikh, 41, 53.
 Sirhām, 85.
 Sirpūr, 116.
 Sitalgah, 14.
 Sītaband Rameswar, 113.
 Sivalinga Reddī, 110.
 Siva Rāi, 17, 85.
 Somaeckhara Sarma, 110.
 South Arcot, 97, 101.
 South Purna R., 69, 105, 107, 148.
 Sūfīs, 133, 136.
 Suhayd, 21.
 Sujān Singh, 84.
 Sulṡānpūr (Warangal), 6, 13, 114.
 Sykes, 22.
 T
 Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī, 40, 45.
 Tabāḡabā', see 'Alī bin 'Azizillah, 28-32, 47, 60, 65, 66.
 Taghī, see Malik, 63, 121 to 123.
 Tāju'd-Dīn (bin Dahahīr), Jāndar-i-Khāḡḡ, left, 73, 140.
 Tāju'd-Dīn bin Qal'tā, 17, 18, 152.
 Tāju'd-Dīn (Tāju'l-Mulk).
 Tāju'l-Mulk, (Nuḡrar Khān), 3.
 Tāju'l-Mulk (Tāju'd-Dīn), 73.
 Tālikota 78, 83, 152.
 Talodn, 105, 116.
 Tamilakam, 100.
 Tamilnād, 95, 135.
 Tanjore, 101.
 Teptī (Tāḡī), 75, 105, 106, 107, 116, 148.
 Taraf, 147, 149.
 Tarafdār, 147.
 Tardāl, 77, 84.

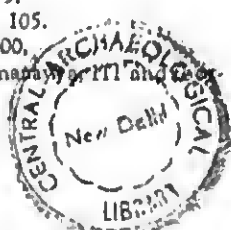
Ta'rikh-i-Firuzshāhī, 56.
 Ta'rikh-i-Mubārakshāhī, 59.
 Ta'rikh-i-Tāhirī, 26.
 Tashkandī, see 'Imādu'l-Mulk.
 Tūcār Khān, 11.
 Tattah, 90.
 Tāvi (Tapti), 1, 75.
 Tawli, 114.
 Telīngāna, 1, 35, 69, 89, 96, 106 to 110, 112, 148.
 Telīngana (Mohammaden), 148.
 Telugu, 96, 110.
 Tinnavelly, 101.
 Tirna River, 69, 70.
 Tirupati, 100.
 Tiruvannāmalai, 101-103.
 Tondmandalam, 97, 104.
 Trichinopoly, 101, 103.
 Tughluq Shāh, see Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn.
 Tuhfatu's-Salāṭīn, 53.
 Tuljāpūr, 70.
 Tungabhadra, 102, 104, 116, 117, 148.
 Turks, 25, 97.
 Turkoman, 1, 127.
 Turushka, 110.

U

Uch, 89.
 Udamalpet, 102.
 Udayagiri, 109.
 Ulṭūn Bahādur, 89.
 Ulugh Khān, 13, 22, 37.
 'Umdaru'l-Mulk (Sharfu'd-Dīn Fārsī), 72, 145.
 'Umar (Na'ib Wakīl-i-Dar), 71, 84, 139.
 Ūsha, 140.
 'Uyūnu't-Tawārikh, 21, 45, 46.

V

Vada, 71, 105.
 Vaghela, 115.
 Vaghur R., 105.
 Venkata, 100.
 Venkatarama, notes.



Venrumankonda, 97.
 Vijayanagar, 69, 82, 89, 92, 95 to 97, 102 to 104, 108, 113.
 Vindhya, 8, 135.
 Vīra Ballāla, 1, 2, 99, 101 to 104.
 Viran, 35.

W

Wai R., 71.
 Wakīl-i-Dar, 81, 84, 138, 139.
 Wakīl-i-Mamalik, 81, 143 etc. 149.
 Warangal, 3, 13, 69, 96 to 98, 112, 135.
 Waṣṣaf, see foot-notes.
 Wazīr, 80, 143, 144.
 Wazīr-i-Mamalik, 79.
 Western Ghat, 105.
 Whittel, 49.
 Wolseley Haig, Sir, 39, 44, 47, 49, 54, 56, 123.

Y

Yadavas, 95, 135.
 Yahya Sirhindī, 59.
 Yamīnu 'l-Dawlah, 58, 59.
 Yamīnu 'l-Khilāfah, 24, 58, 59.
 Yanam, 97.
 Yāvanas, 110.
 Yercaud, 102.
 Yetla R., 71.
 Yūsuf 'Adil Shāh, 51.

Z

Zafar Khān, 10, 13, 14, 15, 17, 18 etc.
 Zafar Khānīs, 4.
 Zafaru'l-Wāliḥ bi Muzaffar wa Ālih, 46, 124.
 Zahrū'l-Juyūsh, 13, 18.
 Zahrū'l-Juyūsh (Ilyās), 72, 145, 146.
 Zayd, 45.
 Zayd Shāhid, 72.
 Zaydī, 45.
 Zaynu'l-'Ābidīn.
 Ziyau'd-Dīn, see Barani.

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